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HISTORY

OF THE

ORIGIN, PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

AMERICAN WAR

IN THE

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND TERMINATION
OF THE
AMERICAN WAR.

By C. STEDMAN,

WHO SERVED UNDER SIR W. HOWE, SIR H. CLINTON, AND THE
MARQUIS CORNWALLIS

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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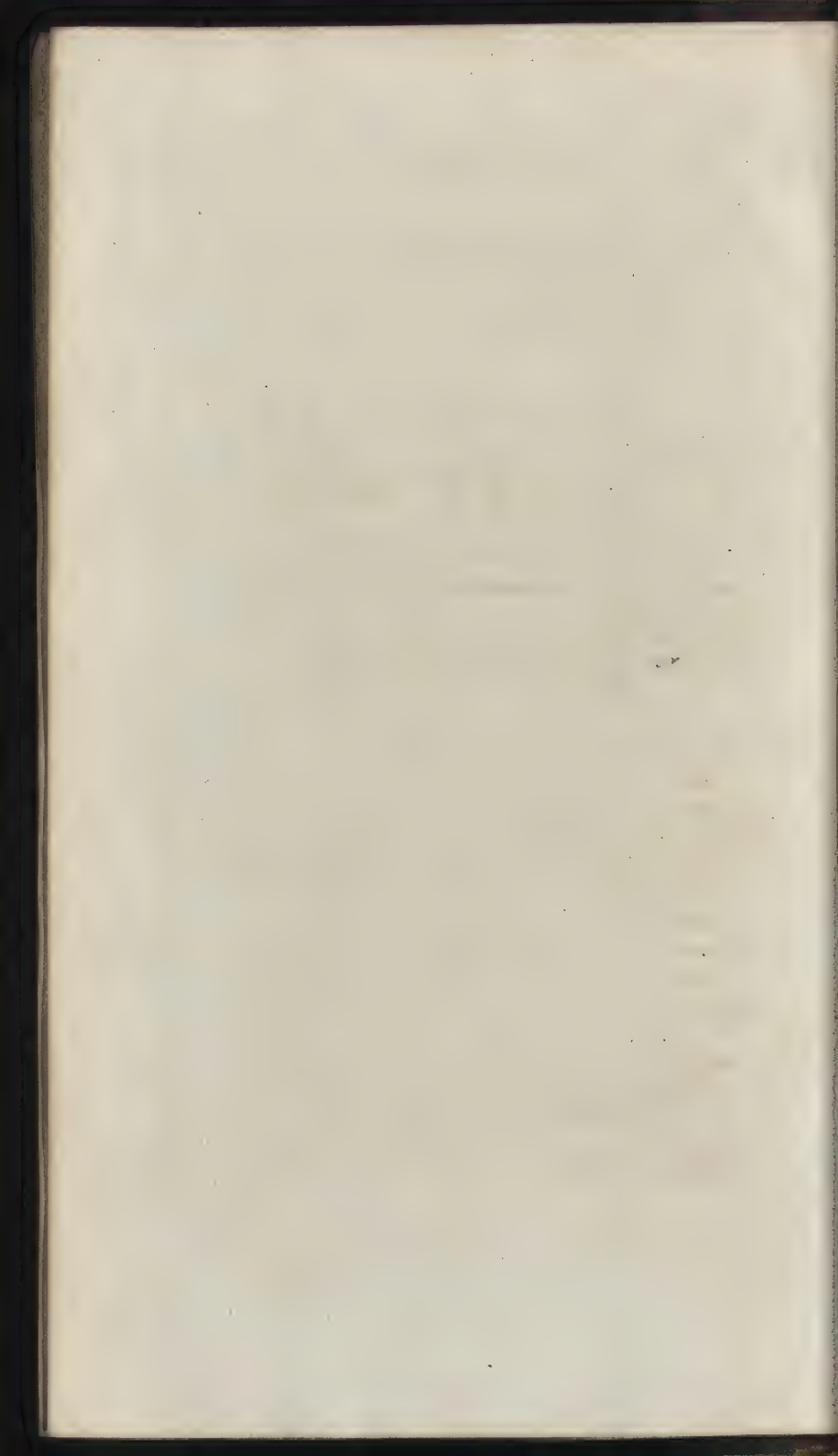
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H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

A M E R I C A N W A R .

C H A P. XXI.

Effects of the Surrender of Saratoga—Bills brought into Parliament for Reconciliation and Peace with the Americans—Treaties entered into between the French King and the Thirteen revolted Colonies—Commissioners appointed for settling the Differences between the Mother-country and her colonies—Rupture between Great-Britain and France—Fate of Burgoyne's Army—The Commissioners for Peace arrive in America, and enter on the Execution of their office.

THE surrender of Saratoga forms a memorable æra in the history of the American war. Although the success of the British arms had not been so brilliant, nor the progress made in repressing the spirit of revolt so considerable, as either the magnitude of the force employed under sir William Howe, or the military character of that general gave reason to expect; still, upon the

C H A P. XXI.

1778. Effects of the surrender of Saratoga.

whole,

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CHAPTER XXI. whole, until the unfortunate expedition from Canada, the advantages that had been gained were on the side of Great Britain.

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Whenever the British and American armies had been opposed to each other in the field, the superiority of the former was conspicuous in every thing, and, in general, even in numbers. The Americans themselves, impressed with an opinion of their own inferiority, were dispirited; and it was with reluctance that they ever attempted to engage the British troops upon equal, or nearly equal, terms. But so uncommon an event as the capture of a whole army of their enemies animated them with fresh ardour, invigorated the exertions of the congress, lessened in the mind of the American soldier the high opinion which he had entertained of British valour and discipline, and inspired him with a juster confidence in himself.

The consequences, however, which this event produced in Europe were of still greater moment. In Great Britain the most sanguine expectations had been raised from the Canada expedition, the rapid success of which, in its first stages, seeming to promise the most fortunate issue. A junction of the northern army with that at New York was confidently expected; and it was hoped that by this junction a decisive blow would be given to the rebellion, by cutting off the northern from the middle and southern colonies. The British nation, elevated with such hopes, and encouraged to cherish them by the first intelligence from Canada, which brought an account of the almost instantaneous reduction of Ticonderoga, and the destruction or capture of the provincial naval force in Lake Champlain, suffered proportionate disappointment upon hearing of the ultimate failure of the expedition and the total loss of the army.

But

But if the disappointment of the nation was great, that of the ministry was still greater ; and in a fit of despondency, it would seem, they determined, for the sake of peace, and of getting rid of a troublesome and expensive war, to give up every thing for which they had originally contended. To the surprise of all, and to the no small mortification of those who had hitherto zealously supported the measures of administration, the minister in the month of February introduced two bills into the house of commons, which were passed through both houses of parliament with great dispatch, and received the royal assent on the eleventh of March. By the first of these the duty payable on tea imported into America, which was the original cause of dispute, was repealed, and a legislative declaration was made, that the king and parliament of Great Britain would not in future impose any tax or duty whatsoever payable in the colonies, except only such as should be necessary for the regulation of trade, and in such case that the nett produce of the duty so imposed should be applied to the particular use of that colony in which it should be collected, in the same manner as other duties collected under the authority of the assemblies. By the other of these acts, authority was given to the king to appoint commissioners with full powers to treat, consult, and agree, with any assemblies of men whatsoever in America, and even with individuals, concerning any grievances existing in the government of any of the colonies, or in the laws of Great Britain extending to them, concerning any contributions to be furnished by the colonies, and concerning any other regulations which might be for the common good of both countries ; with a proviso, however, that such agreement should not be binding until ratified by parliament. But in

Bills brought into parliament for reconciliation and peace with the Americans,

CHAP. the following instances the commissioners were to
 XXI. be invested with absolute power, exerciseable
 1778. however, according to their discretion, for pro-
 claiming a cessation of hostilities by sea and land,
 for opening an intercourse with the mother-coun-
 try, for suspending the operation of all acts of
 parliament relating to the North American colo-
 nies, passed since the tenth of February 1763,
 and for granting pardons to all descriptions of
 persons.

Never perhaps was there a moment during the whole of the British history, in which the nation had greater cause of mortification than at the time of passing these acts: And it will be difficult to defend the ministers of that day against the imputation of either want of wisdom or want of firmness. If what was now proposed was a right measure, it ought to have been adopted at first, and before the sword was drawn: On the other hand, if the claims of the mother-country over her colonies were originally worth contending for, the strength and resources of the nation were not yet so far exhausted as to justify ministers in relinquishing them without a further struggle. But such was the disappointment in consequence of the failure of the expedition from Canada, and so great an alteration had it produced in the opinions of those who directed the councils of the nation, that the concessions which had been repeatedly refused to the petitions of the colonists were now to be offered to them with arms in their hands; and they were even to be courted and intreated to accept of them.

This moment of despondence, humiliation, and debasement, was seized by the court of Versailles to give a fatal blow to the overgrown power of her rival. Ever since the commencement of the rebellion the American colonists had been encour-
 aged

raged in their revolt by secret assurances of assist-
 ance from the court of France, and by supplies of
 money, arms, and ammunition, clandestinely con-
 veyed to them. The French were in the mean
 time making preparations; and their original de-
 sign was, probably, to abstain from an open decla-
 ration; until Great Britain and her colonies had
 mutually weakened each other in their civil con-
 tention. But the disaster which happened to ge-
 neral Burgoyne's army, and the consequent con-
 ciliatory measures about to be adopted by the Bri-
 tish cabinet, at last obliged them to throw off the
 masque. They knew that the Americans, not-
 withstanding their success at Saratoga, still la-
 boured under very great difficulties; and that,
 for want of internal resources, whilst their foreign
 trade was almost annihilated by the British
 cruizers, it was impossible for them, without assist-
 ance, to keep a respectable army in the field for
 any length of time; and they dreaded, lest, under
 such unpromising circumstances, they should be
 induced to accept the very liberal terms which
 they knew were to be offered to them*. To pre-
 vent this, and to defeat the effect of the concilia-
 tory measures about to be adopted by the British
 cabinet, two treaties were now entered into be-
 tween the French king and the thirteen revolted
 colonies; one of commerce, and another of de-
 fensive alliance; which were finally signed at Paris
 the sixth of February in the present year, by the
 chevalier Gerard, in behalf of the French king;
 and by Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur

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Treaties
 entered into
 between the
 French
 king and
 the thirteen
 revolted
 colonies.

* Before the recess of parliament for the Christmas holidays
 it was known that new and very liberal terms of reconcilia-
 tion were to be offered to the Americans: And on the 24th of
 December the treaties between France and the revolted colonies
 were first agreed upon, although they were not formally signed
 till the 6th of February following.

CHAP. XXI. Lee, in behalf of the American colonies. The first of these, as its title imports, was intended to regulate the commerce to be carried on between the countries of the contracting parties; and the principal object of the other was to secure the sovereignty and independence of the revolted colonies; it being stipulated, that if a war in consequence of this treaty should break out between Great Britain and France, the two contracting parties should mutually assist each other according to their power and ability, and that peace should not be made without the consent of both, nor until the sovereignty and independence of the colonies, both in matters of government and commerce, should be expressly or tacitly acknowledged by the king of Great Britain.

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A measure of such consequence could not, even in France, escape the vigilance and penetration of the lord viscount Stormont, the British ambassador at Paris, who with the utmost purity of morals, and even in the midst of literary pursuits, knew how to estimate the friendly professions, and to penetrate the real views and designs, of ambitious courts. Intelligence of the engagements between France and America was quickly transmitted by the viscount to the British ministry; and this was the cause why the conciliatory bills were passed with so much dispatch through the two houses of parliament. It was, perhaps, hoped that they might reach America before the congress had received intelligence of what had been done in France, but certainly before they had ratified the new engagements entered into by their deputies; and, that they might be apprized of what was intended, even before it was completed, rough drafts of the bills, as soon as they were introduced into parliament, were immediately dispatched to the commander in chief in America, to be forwarded

to

to the congress, The conciliatory acts of parliament being passed, and a commission made out under the great seal, the earl of Carlisle, William Eden, and George Johnstone, esquires (who, with the admiral and the general commanding in America, or, in case of the absence of the latter, sir Henry Clinton, were the persons named in the commission, and entrusted with the execution of the powers for settling the differences between the mother-country and her colonies) sailed for America on the twenty-second of April.

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Commissioners appointed for settling the differences between the mother-country and her colonies.

Somewhat more than a month previous to the sailing of the commissioners, the French ambassador, by order of his court, formally notified to that of London the nature of the engagements entered into between his sovereign and the American colonies, and some days after quitted London and returned to France, about the same time that the British ambassador quitted Paris. This notification was considered as amounting to a declaration of war; and although war was not actually declared, both kingdoms vigorously prepared for open hostilities.

Rupture between Great Britain and France.

Such was the train of political consequences which, in succession, followed the capture of general Burgoyne's army. Here it may be proper to notice the subsequent fate of those brave but unfortunate men, whom the chance of war had thus subjected to the power of the Americans. By one of the articles of capitulation it was stipulated that the surrendering army should be at liberty to transport itself to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving against America during the war. Boston was fixed upon as the place from which it was to embark; and thither the British troops were marched to wait for transports. When the army had reached its assigned quarters, it was found that it would be much easier, and more expeditious

Fate of Burgoyne's army.

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peditions, to march the troops across the country to Rhode Island, to meet the transports, than at that season of the year, it being the middle of winter, to bring the transports from thence round to Boston. An application was accordingly made by general Burgoyne to the congress, for leave to change the place of embarkation from Boston to Rhode Island, or some other port in its neighbourhood. But the congress, probably reflecting that the moment the convention troops landed in England, an equal number could be spared from thence to supply their place in America, determined, instead of complying with the general's request, to prohibit the embarkation of the Saratoga troops from any port whatsoever, "until a distinct" "and explicit ratification of the convention at" "Saratoga should be properly notified by the" "court of Great Britain to congress;" and entered upon their journals a resolution to that effect. This resolution was evidently a breach of the convention. It was admitted to be so by the congress themselves; but as a kind of justification, they pretended to set forth some grounds of suspicion that the British troops did not hold themselves bound by the convention, and meant, if they were suffered to depart, instead of returning to Great Britain, to join the army at New York. They also attempted to specify some instances in which, on the part of the British troops, the convention had already been broken; but the instances on which they relied were of a nature so frivolous and unimportant, that it was clear to all the world that the congress, by this proceeding, sacrificed national faith and honour to present convenience.

It was in vain that general Burgoyne remonstrated to the congress on the injustice of this resolution, and proved, to a demonstration, that
there

there was no breach of the convention on the part of the British troops, even in those instances, frivolous and futile as they were, on which that assembly relied. In order to remove every doubt, and silence every objection, he offered to enter into a new engagement, should it be desired, and to engage his officers to join in it, for fulfilling all the articles of the convention. But the congress determined not to be satisfied, and obstinately persisted in the resolution which they had taken. They gave the general leave to return to Great Britain upon his parole, to be forthcoming when called for, but they retained his army in captivity; which, after remaining more than a year in the province of Massachusetts Bay, was marched from thence as far to the southward as Virginia, in the interior parts of which new quarters were assigned to it; nor were any of the convention troops released during the war, except such as were exchanged for American prisoners; although repeated offers were made by sir Henry Clinton, and by the American commissioners, to ratify or renew, on the part of Great Britain, all the articles of that convention.

We should now return to the two armies, which we left towards the middle of the present year, the one in Philadelphia, and the other encamped in huts in the woods at Valley Forge, upon the Schuylkill, where general Washington had determined to remain, that he might be enabled to send out detachments during the winter to hover round the British quarters, for the purpose of preventing a communication between them and such of the inhabitants in the country as were well affected to the British cause: An object which, as we have seen, for some time, he in part accomplished. But before we resume the narrative of military operations it will be proper to

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The commissioners
for peace
arrive in
America,
and enter
on the execution of
their office.

to advert to certain political transactions and circumstances by which they were immediately preceded, and, in some measure, affected.

Within less than a fortnight after sir William Howe's departure from Philadelphia, the British commissioners sent to offer peace to North America, arrived in the Delaware, and without delay entered on the execution of their office.

Here it may be proper, before we proceed, to relate the steps which they took to fulfil the purposes of their mission; to throw into one point of view some previous proceedings of the congress, by which it will appear that, even before the arrival of the commissioners, and without waiting to hear what they might have to urge, that assembly had determined not to accept the terms which they had to offer. In the month of November of the preceding year, the congress, with a view of removing the only obstacle or ground of apprehension which impeded the success of their application to the court of France, entered into a resolution, declaring that all proposals for a treaty with the king of Great Britain, inconsistent with the independence of the United States, or with such alliances as might be formed under their authority, would be rejected. And in the month of April of the present year, upon the arrival of the rough drafts of the conciliatory bills, they passed resolutions of such a contemptuous, insulting, and provoking nature, as left no hope that any reasonable terms of accommodation would be accepted*. In these resolutions they affected to consider those bills as the sequel of an insidious plan formed by the British government for enslaving America. The object of them, they maintained, was to disunite the

* See the Resolutions of Congress of the 22d of April, 1778.

colonies, create divisions, and prevent foreign powers from interfering in their behalf. They pretended to demonstrate that those bills were an evidence either of the weakness or wickedness of the British government, or both; and, after various other sarcastic strictures, they finally resolved, that any man, or body of men, who should presume to make a separate agreement with the British commissioners, ought to be considered as open and avowed enemies; and that the United States neither could nor would hold any conference with these commissioners, unless they should, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of the United States. It happened too, that the conciliatory bills, after they had been passed through both houses of parliament, and received the royal assent, being immediately dispatched to America, reached that country some days previous to the arrival of the commissioners. They were forthwith forwarded to congress; but that assembly returned no other answer* than to refer to the aforesaid resolutions, in which they alledged that they had already expressed their sentiments upon bills not essentially different from those which were now transmitted to them.

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Although these previous proceedings afforded a very unfavourable prospect of the success of the negotiation, which was rendered still more hopeless by the arrival of Silas Deane at York Town on the second of May, with copies of the treaties, already mentioned, entered into between the French king and the American plenipotentiaries at Paris, the commissioners nevertheless entered

* Resolutions of Congress of the 6th of June 1778.

upon

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upon the execution of their office with apparent alacrity. They dispatched their secretary, doctor Adam Ferguson; a name well known in the literary world, to proceed to York Town, and lay before the congress a copy of their commission, with the conciliatory acts of parliament upon which it was founded, and a letter explaining the extent of their powers, and setting forth in detail the nature of those terms which they were authorized to offer for settling the differences between the mother-country and her colonies; and proposing to the congress that they should appoint a place for the British commissioners to meet them, either collectively or by deputation, for the further discussion of every subject of difference. A previous application had been made to general Washington for a passport and safe conduct for Dr. Ferguson, which it was not doubted would have been granted; but upon his arrival at the first out-post of the American army, he was not suffered to proceed any farther, general Washington having refused to grant a passport, until he should consult the congress, and have their permission. Thus a man, whose unstained integrity precluded suspicion, and the celebrity of whose writings, it might have been supposed, would have secured to him a favourable reception in any civilized country on the face of the earth, was refused permission even to pass through the American territory, although the messenger of peace and reconciliation. Such are ever the harsh and ungracious effects of stern republican policy. Doctor Ferguson, being thus denied a passport, returned to Philadelphia; and, that no delay might ensue, the papers of which he was intended to have been the bearer were now forwarded to congress by the ordinary military posts of their army, and reached York Town on the thirteenth of June. After deliberating for
some

some days on the subject of these communications, CHAP.
the congress, through their president, returned for XXI.
answer, that the acts of parliament, the commis-
sion and the commissioners letter, all of them sup-
posed the people of the American States to be
subjects of the king of Great Britain, and were
founded on an idea of dependance which was ut-
terly inadmissible: But that they were ready to
enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace
and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties
already subsisting, whenever the king of Great
Britain should demonstrate a sincere disposition
for that purpose; the only proof of which would
be an explicit acknowledgment of their indepen-
dence, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies;
and they approved of general Washington's con-
duct in refusing a passport to Dr. Ferguson. Such
was the answer of congress to the British commis-
sioners; an answer which shewed that all negoti-
ation, except upon the ground of acknowledging
their independence, would be unavailing, and that
nothing but conquest could re-unite the colonies
to the British empire: And such the issue of this
second attempt to bring about a reconciliation;
which, whatever might be the effect of it in Great
Britain towards inducing a greater union of sen-
timent on the subject of colonial affairs, produced
in America no good consequences whatsoever. It
flattered the pride of the American republicans,
confirmed them in pursuing the measures which
they had adopted, and finally established the au-
thority of congress, which the commissioners had
in fact recognized by offering to treat with them.
On the other hand, it had a most unfavourable
effect upon all the inhabitants of the colonies who
were attached to the British cause: Those who
had not yet openly declared their sentiments, were
discouraged and disheartened; whilst the active
and

CHAP. and persecuted loyalist was plunged into the deepest despair. Even the officers of the army felt themselves lowered in their own estimation, when, without any apparent necessity, they saw every thing for which they had been yet contending, in effect given up. To this order of men, therefore, as well as to the proscribed loyalists, the contemptuous proceedings of congress, in consequence of an application which was considered as the greatest act of condescension on the part of the mother-country, was peculiarly offensive, and gave a new edge to their resentment. They hoped, as all reasonable prospect of accommodation was at an end, that the most strenuous exertions would be made to take signal vengeance on the authors and abettors of the rebellion, whose guilt was now aggravated by their insolence; and they looked with impatience for the moment when they should be led out to assail the American camp at Valley Forge.

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The Evacuation of Philadelphia—General Washington prepares to impede and harass the British Troops in their Retreat—Sir H. Clinton pursues his March to New York by Sandy Hook—Disposition of the American Army—And of the British—Battle of Freehold Court House in the County of Monmouth—The British Army arrives at New York.

BUT the first active measure of the campaign did not accord with such expectations. This was no other than the evacuation of Philadelphia, and the retreat of the army to New York. Preparations for this purpose were making even while the commissioners were transmitting their dispatches to congress; and before an answer was received the evacuation had actually taken place.

Through the interference of a hostile maritime power, the command of the sea was about to be disputed by the contending parties. Hence greater circumspection became necessary in the choice of posts for the British army. It was uncertain where the French might attempt to strike a blow; whether upon the continent of America, or in the West Indies. It was therefore proper that the army should occupy a station from which reinforcements might be most easily and expeditiously sent wherever they should be required. But of all the stations hitherto occupied by the southern army, Philadelphia was the least adapted to such a purpose. It was distant from the sea not less than a hundred miles, and communicated with

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it only by a winding river. These, or other more weighty considerations, influenced the ministry so far, that orders were sent from England for the evacuation of Philadelphia; which was effected at three in the morning of the eighteenth of June, the army retiring to the point of land below the town formed by the confluence of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, where the boats and vessels belonging to the navy were ready to receive them. And so judicious was the admiral's arrangement, on this occasion, that the whole army, with its baggage, was passed over the Delaware, and encamped on the Jersey shore, by ten in the forenoon; meeting with little interruption from the enemy, though the Americans entered Philadelphia before the British entirely left it. The same fleet of transports that carried the soldiers, provisions, and stores, carried also the property of the Philadelphian merchants attached to government. The great body of the loyalists of Philadelphia went along with the army: Such of them as had the imprudence to remain behind were treated with great severity. Some were banished. Several were thrown into prison, and tried for their lives. Two of these, Roberts and Carlisle, very respectable characters, of the sect of Quakers, suffered death.

The country through which the British army had to march being naturally strong, and abounding with difficult passes, which, if occupied by the enemy, might greatly retard its progress, Sir Henry Clinton thought it necessary, in order to guard against the consequences of such obstructions, to carry along with him a considerable quantity of baggage and a large supply of provisions. The progress of the army, thus heavily incumbered, was uncommonly slow.

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The preparations and arrangements previous to the evacuation could not be made so secretly but that intelligence of them was conveyed to General Washington. From this intelligence he was enabled to penetrate the design, and had detached General Maxwell with a brigade into New Jersey, with orders to assemble the militia, break down the bridges, and, by every means in his power, impede and harass the British troops in their retreat, until he, with the main army, should cross the Delaware and fall upon their rear. There are two roads leading from Philadelphia to New York; one along the western shore of the Delaware, as high as Trenton Ferry; the other, that which was taken by the British army, running parallel with the first, but on the eastern bank of the river. The route of the British army being along the eastern bank of the Delaware as high as Trenton, General Washington was obliged to make a considerable circuit to cross it higher up. But, even after he had effected his passage, he kept for some time a very cautious and respectful distance, sending forward detachments of his light troops to watch the motions of the British army, and hang on its flanks and rear. A little to the left of the most northerly road leading from Trenton to New York, the country of New Jersey becomes high and mountainous. This country General Washington entered when he passed the Delaware at Correll's Ferry, and he thought that the very slow movement of the British army indicated a design in Sir Henry Clinton to draw him down from his advantageous situation, and either force an engagement in the level country, or, by a rapid movement, gain the high grounds which he had quitted. This idea alone can account for the extreme caution with which he approached a retreating enemy. The course of the British army now pointed

CHAP. from the Delaware; and the farther it advanced
 XXII. in this new direction, the more General Wash-
 1778. ington strengthened his detachments; all of which
 were composed of chosen men.

Sir Henry Clinton had hitherto met with very little molestation from the enemy. His light troops had been sufficient to drive the Americans from the passes which they occupied; and the greatest impediments which he met with, arose from the destruction of the bridges. His course, so far as he had yet gone, was the same, whether he meant to proceed to New York by the way of Sandy Hook, or by South Amboy, opposite to Staten Island, and the North River; but he had now arrived at that point where the highways diverge, and where it was necessary for him to make an option which of these roads, during the remainder of his march he would pursue. The roads which led to Staten Island and the North River on the left, were the shortest; but in that direction the river Rariton intervened, the passing of which, in the face of an enemy superior in number, might be both difficult and dangerous; more especially as intelligence had been received that General Gates, with another army, was advancing from the northward to form a junction with General Washington, near that river. This consideration determined the British general to take the road which led to Sandy Hook, as that which presented the fewest impediments to obstruct his progress, and by inclining to the right carried him clear of the course of the Rariton altogether. Along this road, therefore, the British army was ordered to march; and having proceeded some miles, they encamped on the twenty-seventh of June on some high grounds in the neighbourhood of Freehold Court-house, in the county of Monmouth.

Sir H. Clinton pursues his march to New York by Sandy Hook.

General Washington had from time to time so powerfully reinforced his advanced detachments, that the Marquis de la Fayette first, and afterwards General Lee, were in succession sent to take the command of them. They now amounted, according to General Washington's account, to more than five thousand men, and had taken post at English Town, a few miles in the rear of the British army. A corps of six hundred men under Colonel Morgan, hovered on the right flank of the British, and eight hundred of the Jersey militia, under General Dickenson, were on the left; whilst General Washington, with the main body of the American army, encamped about three miles in the rear of his advanced corps.

Such was the disposition of the two armies on the evening of the twenty-seventh of June; and as it was now obvious, from the course which the British army had lately taken, that their march was a real retreat, and not a feint; this discovery seems to have at last determined the American general to risque an attack; which he resolved to make the following morning, before the British troops should reach an advantageous position, about twelve miles in their front. Orders were accordingly sent to general Lee to begin the attack with the advanced corps as soon as the British army should be in motion, with an intimation that general Washington, with the main body of the American army, would advance and support him. Sir Henry Clinton was sufficiently apprized that general Washington, with the American army, was near him, from the frequent appearance of his light troops during the preceding day; and judging that his design was rather to make an attempt upon the baggage, in which he thought himself vulnerable, than to risque a general engagement,

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and of the
British.

June 28.

Battle of
Freehold
Court-
house in
the county
of Mon-
mouth.

gement, he made a new disposition in order more effectually to protect it. The army marched in two divisions; the van commanded by general Knyphausen, and the rear by lord Cornwallis; but the whole of the baggage was now put under the care of general Knyphausen's division, that the rear division, under lord Cornwallis, which consisted of the flower of the British army, being disincumbered, might be ready to act with vigour, as circumstances should require. This arrangement being made, general Knyphausen's division, consisting of the German troops, the yagers excepted, and the second battalion of light infantry, with the baggage, marched in pursuance of orders at break of day on the twenty-eighth of June, whilst the other division, with which the commander in chief remained, did not move till near eight, that it might not press too close upon the baggage, which was so enormous as to occupy a line of march of near twelve miles in extent. But scarcely had the rear-guard of the British army descended from the heights of Freehold, into a plain of three miles in length and one in breadth, when the advanced corps of the American army was seen approaching, and soon afterwards descending into the plain from the same heights which the British army had just before quitted. About the same time intelligence was brought that large columns of the enemy were seen marching on both flanks. This intelligence confirmed the British general in his first opinion, that the design of the enemy was upon his baggage; and as that was now engaged in defiles which would continue for a considerable distance, no other mode of affording relief to general Knyphausen's division appeared to him so eligible as that of making a vigorous attack upon the corps which

which appeared in his rear, and, if successful, of pressing it so closely, that the detachments sent forward on his flanks might be recalled to its assistance. A disposition was accordingly made for commencing the attack in the plain; but before it could be carried into execution the provincials retired, and took post on the high ground from which they had before descended. This was a strong position: But it was necessary to attempt something decisive for the relief of the baggage, and orders being given for the British troops to ascend the heights, the attack was made with so much spirit, that the provincials were quickly obliged to give way. Their second line, which was also strongly posted, now presented itself to view. Here the resistance was greater; but notwithstanding the heat of the day, which was extreme, the British troops, fatigued as they were, advanced to the charge with so much order, firmness, and intrepidity, that their success in this second attack was not less complete than in the first. The provincials now fled on all sides; when, in this critical moment, general Washington coming up with the main body of his army, took possession of some strong ground behind a defile, over which the British troops must necessarily pass in pursuit of the fugitives; and by his timely arrival, and the judicious position which he took, probably saved his advanced corps from total ruin. Already part of the second British line had moved to the front, and occupied some ground upon the left flank of the enemy, which was actually turned by the light-infantry and queen's rangers; but the British general having reconnoitered their position, and seeing, in consequence of the difficulty of the defile, the impossibility of attacking them in front with any prospect of success,

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cess, and being also confident that the end was gained for which the attack had been made, recalled his victorious troops, ready to sink under the heat and fatigue of the day, and retiring to the advantageous position where the first attack had been made, suffered them to rest till ten in the evening; when he resumed his march to join general Knyphausen's division with the baggage, carrying his wounded along with him, except such as could not with safety be moved. Some attempts had been made upon the baggage by the enemy's light troops, which were quickly repelled through the able disposition made by general Knyphausen for its security; and the two brigades of the enemy which had been sent forward on this service, one on each flank, were soon recalled, in consequence of the events which happened in the rear. In the different engagements of this day, the whole loss of the British army in killed, wounded, missing, and those who died of fatigue, amounted to three hundred and fifty-eight men, including twenty officers. Amongst the slain the officer of greatest note was the honourable lieutenant-colonel Monckton, who fell at the head of the second battalion of grenadiers, greatly and deservedly lamented: And such was the extreme heat of the day, that three serjeants, and fifty-six men, dropped dead without a wound. Colonel Monckton had been selected for the hazardous duty to which he was this day appointed, on account of the cool intrepidity of his character. By his military qualities, and amiable virtues, he acquired the esteem and the affection of both the officers and the men. These paid the most marked tribute of respect to his memory. During the confusion of a dangerous cannonade, the battalion in parties relieved each other, until, with their

their bayonets (being destitute of more proper tools), they perfected a grave, where they laid the body of their beloved commanding officer, placing over it with their hands the earth they had moistened with their tears.

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The loss of the Americans exceeded, by a little, that of the British army; for, according to their own accounts, it amounted to three hundred and sixty-one men, including thirty two officers.

The events of this day were celebrated by the provincials as a victory; but with what justice the particulars which we have related will serve to shew. And, independently of these, it is apparent that general Washington had, in this day's engagement, received such a check as determined him to draw off his troops towards the North River, and molest his retreating enemy no farther. Washington, in his public letter, says that he lay close to the British army after the action; but that it went off in such silence, as to give no alarm of its retreat to the Americans. This silence, however, it is well known, met with one interruption; for, just as the British were beginning to move, some horses or cattle were straggling through a wood, and a battalion of light-infantry, taking them for the enemy, began a fire upon them, which continued for five minutes. But general Washington dates his letter to Lee, on that same night, from English Town, three miles from the field of battle.

The conduct of general Lee on this day, which was so severely arraigned, and unjustly punished by the Americans, was worthy of applause and admiration. He had been betrayed across some narrow passes of a marsh by the persuasion that he had to deal with a rear-guard of only two or three battalions,

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battalions. When he suddenly perceived six thousand men, including the British light-infantry and grenadiers, forming to receive him, he retired with such quickness of decision, though not attacked, that he repassed the marsh before our line was in readiness to move. Had he, in expectation of support, maintained his ground on the plain, until the British had attacked him, he must have been overpowered, and would not have had any retreat. On the other hand, the conduct of the commanders in chief of the contending armies, though each of them claimed a victory, was made the subject of animadversion. Why, it was asked, did general Clinton encumber himself with so enormous a train of baggage? Why, when a rapid retreat was his object, did he halt the army, without being fatigued by long marches, for two days at Freehold? It was undoubtedly his business to gain a communication with the fleet as quickly as possible; as it was of Washington again to cut it off. At no time on the march did general Clinton shew any other disposition than that of retreating to New York. General Washington's caution is therefore censurable. He ought to have attacked so encumbered an army with all his light troops, and, in spite of partial defeats, contended, in such favourable circumstances, for ultimate victory. The check that the advanced guard of the American army sustained did not, it was said, appear to be so great as to justify a declination of all farther attempts against the British army, even at that very time. Having come up with the main body of his army, fresh and untired troops, he should have endeavoured to turn one of general Clinton's flanks. Had he succeeded, that part of the British army must have been destroyed, as, immediately after quitting the plain,

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any regular mode of retreat would have been impracticable; for, on one side, the road was commanded by a pine barren precipice; while below, on the other, it was frightfully intersected and cut up by frequent gullies and ravines. These, continued on both sides for five or six miles, precluded the action of flanking parties, at the same time that the summit of the precipice, open to an assailing army, would have poured easy destruction on a retreating enemy. Success in this quarter would have secured equal success on the part of the army that was encumbered with baggage. And to all these circumstances, so much in favour of the American general, was added the almost immediate appearance of a French fleet on the coast of America,

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Yet, in such a conjuncture of affairs, it was observed the British general risked, and even courted an action, while the American suffered the important occasion to pass by, when he might have terminated the war by one great and decisive effort.

The British army proceeded on its march, until, the baggage having reached Sandy Hook, there was no farther apprehension for its security. The fleet from the Delaware was there ready to receive it; and whilst preparations were making, by a bridge of boats, for transporting the troops across an inlet of the sea which separates Sandy Hook from the continent, sir Henry Clinton, with the army, lay encamped at the distance of some miles in the country, eagerly expecting general Washington to come up, and fully determined to give him battle. But Washington was, by this time, on his march to the North River; and the British general having remained for two days in this situation, without seeing any thing of the provincials,

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The Bri-
tish army
arrives at
New York.
July.

provincials, proceeded from thence to Sandy Hook, where the army was embarked on the fifth of July, and the same day landed at New York.

It may be mentioned as a fact in natural history, but not unconnected with this narrative, that the peninsula of Sandy Hook, by the storms of the preceding winter, had been converted into an island, which made it necessary to pass the troops across the channel by a floating bridge. The queen's rangers, who formed the rear guard when the bridge was broken up, embarked from the Jersey side in boats.

C H A P. XXIII.

The French Fleet sets sail from Toulon to North America—Thither also a British Fleet sets sail under Vice-Admiral Byron—The Count D'Estaing, missing the British Army in Philadelphia, comes to an Anchor off New York—The Harbour of this Place defended by a small Fleet, under Lord Howe—D'Estaing sets sail to the Southward—but changes his Course, and arrives at Rhode Island—American Preparations for an Attempt on Rhode Island—frustrated—Naval Operations—Lord Howe resigns the Command of the Fleet to Admiral Gambier.

THE French, as soon as they had determined to take an open and active part in behalf of the revolted colonies, began immediately to arm by sea. At Toulon they equipped a fleet of twelve ships of the line and six frigates; which, with a considerable number of troops on board, sailed from thence on the thirteenth of April, under the command of the count D'Estaing; but from adverse winds, did not pass the straits of Gibraltar till the fifteenth of May.

The British ministry, who were not unapprized of this equipment, got ready a fleet of an equal number of ships, the command of which was given to vice-admiral Byron. With this fleet the admiral left Portsmouth on the twentieth of May, and proceeding to Plymouth, finally sailed from thence on the ninth of June, after such advices had

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A French fleet sails from Toulon to North America.

Thither also a British fleet sets sail from Plymouth, under vice-admiral Byron.

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 XXIII. that the Toulon squadron was bound to North
 1778. America. These advices were brought by Captain
 Sutton of the *Proserpine*, who, from the straits
 of Gibraltar, had followed the French fleet for
 ninety leagues on its passage. The count D'Es-
 taing, thus possessed of the advantage of being
 first at sea, proceeded on his passage, and arrived
 on the coast of Virginia on the fifth of July, the
 same day on which the British army had embarked
 at Sandy Hock. He probably expected to have
 found that army in Philadelphia, and Lord Howe's
 fleet in the Delaware: And had he found them in
 this situation, it is not easy to determine what
 might have been the consequence of a joint op-
 eration between him and General Washington.
 Some have thought that the fate of both the Bri-
 tish fleet and army would have been perilously cri-
 tical; whilst others, less prone to despondence,
 have maintained with much confidence, that no-
 thing was to be apprehended by either, so long as
 their provisions lasted; of which they had a suffi-
 cient stock to enable them to hold out till the ar-
 rival of Admiral Byron.

The count
 D'Estaing,
 missing the
 British ar-
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 ladelphia,
 comes to an
 anchor off
 New York.

The count D'Estaing, disappointed in his first
 object by the evacuation of Philadelphia, of which
 he received intelligence whilst he lay off the mouth
 of the Chesapeak, coasted along the American
 shore to the northward, and on the eleventh of
 July in the evening came to an anchor off New
 York, with an apparent design of attempting to
 enter the harbour.

The har-
 bour of this
 place de-
 fended by a
 small fleet
 under lord
 Howe.

The naval force under lord Howe, although
 much inferior to the fleet under the count D'Es-
 taing, was nevertheless respectable; the ships be-
 ing well manned, and most ably officered. It
 consisted of six ships of the line, and four of fifty
 guns, with a number of frigates and smaller ves-
 sels:

fels : And, intelligence of the count D'Estaing's approach having been received some days before he came in sight, a masterly disposition of this force, for the defence of the harbour, had already been made under the immediate direction of the admiral, whose exertions were most nobly seconded by the universal ardour which prevailed not only in the navy, army, and transport service, but amongst all ranks and classes of people at New York, who ran in crowds to offer their service as volunteers. A British fleet blocked up in one of its own ports was such a phenomenon as filled them with indignation.

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For some time after the count D'Estaing came to an anchor the wind was unfavourable to the execution of his supposed intention ; but on the twenty-second of July it changed to the eastward, and the French fleet were seen getting under way. The long-meditated attack, it was now supposed, was instantly to be made ; and so confident were all, that it would prove abortive in consequence of the preparations made for defence, that the critical moment which was to decide, not only the fate of the British fleet, but of the army, was waited for with impatience. But the count D'Estaing, to their great disappointment, as soon as his ships had weighed anchor, instead of attempting to enter the harbour, made sail to the southward, and was soon out of sight. Whether he ever seriously intended to make an attempt upon the harbour of New York, but, after reconnoitring its situation, with the dispositions made for defence, relinquished the design as impracticable ; or whether his appearing before that harbour was only a feint to draw the attention of the British commanders from the place where his attack was really intended ; is uncertain : But after quitting New

The count
D'Estaing
sets sail to
the south-
ward ;

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but chang-
es his course,
and arrives
at Rhode
Island, July
29th.

American
preparati-
ons for an
attempt on
Rhode Is-
land,

frustrated.

Naval ope-
rations.

New York, and standing to the southward, as far as the mouth of the Delaware, he changed his course, and steered directly for Rhode Island, before which he arrived on the twenty-ninth of July. Here at least it was soon obvious that he meditated a real attack, in which general Sullivan, with a detachment from Washington's army, and a force collected from the neighbouring country of New England, was to co-operate.

The expulsion of the British troops from Rhode Island had been in the contemplation of the provincials for several months past. In the spring of this year general Sullivan was sent to take the command in its neighbourhood, and made preparations for invading it. To these preparations major-general sir Robert Pigott, who commanded at Rhode Island, was not inattentive; he readily perceived their object, and in order to retard them, projected about the end of May two different enterprises into Providence Plantation; one conducted by lieutenant-colonel Campbell of the twenty-second, and the other by major Eyre, of the fifty-fourth regiment, both of which were successfully executed. In the first, under lieutenant-colonel Campbell, several houses at Bristol and Warren, filled with military and naval stores, some gallies and armed sloops, and one hundred and twenty-five boats, many of them fifty feet long, which had been collected or built on the Hickamuck river, for the purpose of the invasion, were burnt and destroyed; and eighteen pieces of ordnance, most of them of heavy metal, were rendered unserviceable. And in the last expedition under major Eyre, a large quantity of boards, plank, and other materials for ship-building, were burnt.

The losses sustained by the provincials in these expeditions retarded their preparations so much, that

that when the count D'Estaing arrived off Rhode Island they were not in readiness for co-operation ; and for the present he contented himself with stationing two of his frigates in the Seaconnet Passage on the east, and two of his line-of-battle ships in the Narraganset Passage on the west side of the island, to interrupt the communications of the garrison, whilst, with the remainder of his fleet, he anchored off Brenton's Ledge, at the south-east end of the island, in a situation open to the sea. In this position he remained until the eighth of August, when, every thing being in readiness on the part of the provincials, he entered the harbour with his fleet, receiving and returning the fire from several batteries as he passed them, and came to an anchor between Newport and Conanicut. Upon the first appearance of the French fleet at Rhode Island, a dispatch-boat was sent to New York with intelligence of this ; and on the sixth of August lord Howe, after being detained for four days by contrary winds, put to sea with the British fleet, which was now increased to eight line-of-battle ships, five ships of fifty guns, two of forty-four guns, and four frigates, with three fire ships, two bombs, and a number of smaller vessels. With this force his lordship appeared in sight of Rhode Island on the morning of the ninth of August, and after having communicated with the garrison, and informed himself exactly of the situation of the French fleet, came to an anchor the same evening off Point Judith, which forms the entrance on the south-west side into the great bay, or basin of water which encompasses Rhode Island, and the other smaller islands adjacent. If any advantage could have been gained by finding the count D'Estaing in a confined situation, where his large ships could not act with freedom, and where

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where they were also liable to be annoyed by the batteries from the shore, it was lost by the British admiral's coming to an anchor so far to the southward, and at such a distance from the mouth of the harbour: For on the following morning, the wind having changed to the north-east, the French admiral embraced this opportunity of sailing out of the harbour, with all his ships, and forming them in order of battle as they came out, bore down upon the British fleet. The British admiral, for the present, thought it prudent to decline an engagement, and ranging his ships in order of battle, stood to the southward, in the hope that a shift of wind might enable him to gain the weather-gage. Thus arranged, and thus relatively situated, the two fleets continued in sight of each other for two days; when the British admiral, despairing of a change of wind, and having failed in his endeavours to gain the weather-gage, now waited, to leeward, the approach of the enemy, with a determination to engage; but, about this time, the wind freshening into a tremendous storm, not only parted the two fleets from each other, but separated and dispersed the individual ships of each squadron. The British admiral, in the Apollo frigate, to which ship he had shifted his flag from the Eagle, that he might be the better enabled to direct the operations of his fleet when in prospect of an engagement, on the day on which the storm began, now, when the weather cleared up, found himself left with only six ships; and the Apollo having sustained so much damage in the storm as rendered it necessary to send her immediately into port, he again shifted his flag to one of the other ships, to endeavour to collect his scattered fleet: But having in vain looked out for them for several

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ral days, he at length directed his course for CHAP. XXIII.
Sandy Hook, which he reached on the seven-
teenth, and there found the rest of his squadron
already at anchor. In his passage thither, the
British admiral narrowly escaped the French fleet,
having come in sight of ten of their ships, some
of them at anchor in the sea, about twenty-five
leagues to the eastward of Cape May. 1778.

The separation and dispersion of the two fleets gave occasion to the accidental meeting of single ships, and produced engagements between them, which terminated so much to the honour of British valour and seamanship, as to excite deep regret, that, after the British admiral had at last determined to engage, the storm should have intervened to prevent the action. In the evening of the thirteenth captain Dawson, in the *Renown*, of fifty guns, fell in with the French admiral's ship, the *Languedoc*, of eighty-four guns, dismasted; and notwithstanding her great superiority of force, resolutely assailed her with apparent advantage, until darkness put an end to the engagement, which would have been renewed the following morning, had not the appearance of six other ships of the enemy's fleet obliged the brave captain Dawson to desist. The same evening, a similar engagement happened between the *Preston* of fifty guns, commanded by commodore Hotham, and the *Tonant*, a French ship of eighty guns, with her main-mast only standing, the rest being carried away in the storm. The event of this engagement was similar to that of the former: It was bravely begun and sustained by commodore Hotham, till darkness put an end to it in the evening, and it could not be renewed in the morning, because of the appearance of the rest of the French
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fleet. But the last of the engagements, produced by this untoward occurrence, of ships of disproportionate force, puts all naval calculation from weight of metal at utter defiance, and gives the palm to undaunted bravery and superior skill and seamanship. In the afternoon of the sixteenth of August the *Isis*, a ship also of fifty guns, commanded by captain Raynor, fell in with the *Cesar*, a French ship of seventy-four guns, not dismasted nor injured by the storm, but capable of chasing, and bravely engaged her for an hour and a half with such advantage, that at the end of this period the French ship sheered off, and putting before the wind, left the *Isis* incapable of pursuing from the damage which she had sustained in her masts, sails, and rigging: In other respects her damage was inconsiderable, and only one man was killed and fifteen wounded: Whereas the French ship had been so roughly handled, and so much injured in her hull, that she was obliged to bear away for the harbour of Boston to refit; and her killed and wounded amounted to fifty, including in the latter her captain, the celebrated Bougainville, whose arm was shot away in the action. If we reason by analogy, these spirited actions, thus nobly sustained against ships of such superior force, can leave no room to doubt that, had the two fleets come to action on the day on which an engagement was expected, the event would have proved highly honourable to the British flag. Of the two fleets, the French appears to have suffered the most by the storm, but both of them had sustained considerable damage. The British ships which were disabled went into the harbour of New York to refit; and the French admiral, after collecting his shattered squadron,

bore

bore away for the harbour of Boston, in his passage to which he again anchored off Rhode island, for the purpose of communicating with the provincials, who had effected a landing upon that island the day before he sailed out of the harbour. On this second visit to Rhode Island he remained only one day, when he shaped his course for Boston.

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As soon as lord Howe's Squadron, which was now further increased by the arrival of the Monmouth, one of admiral Byron's fleet, was sufficiently refitted, he put to sea with it again, hoping, from the intelligence which he had received of the motions of the French fleet, that he might be able to reach the bay of Boston before it; but in this hope he was disappointed. Upon his entering that bay, on the thirteenth of August, he found the French fleet already in the harbour, and so well secured by lying within certain points of land, on which batteries had been erected to cover and command the anchorage ground, that all attempts against them, in this situation, appeared impracticable. Having advanced to the mouth of the harbour, and reconnoitred their position, he determined to quit the bay of Boston, and proceed to the relief of Rhode Island; but that island being evacuated by the provincials before his arrival, and his assistance in that quarter no longer being necessary, he returned with the fleet to New York, towards the middle of September. During his absence six more ships of admiral Byron's Squadron had arrived at that port; and as, in consequence of these arrivals, the British naval force in America was now unquestionably superior to the fleet under the count D'Estaing, and would be still farther increased by the arrival of admiral Byron, in the Princess Royal, who was daily expected

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Lord Howe
resigns the
command
of the fleet
to admiral
Gambier.

pected from Halifax, his lordship thought this a proper moment for availing himself of the leave which he had some time before obtained of retiring from the American station, on account of his health; and, resigning the command of the fleet to admiral Gambier, took his departure for England.

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A particular Account of the Progress and Issue of the American Attempt on Rhode Island, already generally mentioned.

AS our attention hitherto has been occupied in detailing the more momentous operations of the two fleets, and the invasion of Rhode Island by the provincials has only been incidentally mentioned, we shall now briefly relate the progress and issue of that invasion, which would not have been undertaken but in the prospect of a co-operation from the count D'Estaing, and which was abandoned as soon as that prospect was withdrawn. Previously to the arrival of the French fleet, Rhode Island was sufficiently protected against an invasion from the provincials, by the garrison which was placed in it, and by the frigates and other smaller vessels of war which were stationed round it for its security: and soon after the arrival of the French fleet upon the American coast, the garrison was reinforced with five battalions under general Prescott; for it was foreseen that, if the French fleet should appear before it, the British naval force stationed there would be rendered ineffective, and the security of the place must, for a time at least, depend chiefly upon the strength of the garrison. The event justified this precaution; for as soon as the count D'Estaing had detached two of his line-of battle ships into the Narraganset Passage, and as many frigates into the Seaconnet Passage, the retreat of such of the British ships as

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were advanced beyond them was cut off: They could neither put to sea nor return to the harbour of Newport; and in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of the French, were dismantled and burnt*. Sir Robert Pigott, too, being threatened with a descent in several quarters at the same time, was obliged, notwithstanding his reinforcement, to withdraw his out-posts, and concentrate his force in an intrenched camp in the neighbourhood of Newport. Thus all the north part of the island was necessarily left unguarded; and there the provincials, under general Sullivan, supposed to amount to ten thousand men, effected a landing on the ninth of August, the day after the count D'Estaing had entered the harbour of Newport. They did not, however, make their appearance before the British lines till the fourteenth, when, taking possession of Honeyman's Hill, they began to construct batteries, form lines of communication, and make regular approaches, which were continued without intermission until the morning of the twenty-sixth. But the re-appearance of the French fleet, in its shattered and disabled condition after the storm, and its final departure for the harbour of Boston to refit, threw a fatal damp upon the spirits of the men who composed general Sullivan's army. Great part of it consisted of volunteers: And these, disheartened by the departure of the French fleet, returned home in such numbers, three thousand of them having gone off in the course of one

* British Ships destroyed at Rhode Island, to prevent them from falling into the Hands of the French:

Junb	32 guns,	burnt.	Cerberus	32 guns,	burnt.
Lark	ditto	ditto.	Falcon	18 guns,	sunk.
Orpheus	ditto	ditto.	King's Fisher	16 guns,	burnt,
Flora	ditto	sunk.			

day,

day, that, according to the American accounts, the force which at last remained did not greatly exceed that of the British garrison. General Sullivan's army being thus weakened by desertion, he saw the impossibility of succeeding, and took measures for effecting a retreat. Orders were dispatched to repair and strengthen the works in his rear, upon the north part of the island, and also at Bristol and Tiverton upon the continent: Such parts of his heaviest baggage as could be spared were sent off; and every previous preparation that was necessary being made, he began his retreat in the night of the twenty-eighth of August. By evacuating his works in the night, general Sullivan gained a march of several hours, unperceived by the British army, and by posting his light troops on various eminences in his line of march, and leaving them behind him with orders to skirmish with the British troops as they advanced, and then retire, he was enabled to make good his retreat with the main body of his army, his artillery and baggage, to a commanding situation at the north end of the island; which, as we have seen, he had previously strengthened with some additional works, for the purpose of covering his retreat. Day-light in the morning of the twenty-ninth discovered to sir Robert Pigott the retreat of the enemy; and a pursuit being instantly ordered, the whole day was spent in skirmishes, in which the covering parties of the provincials were successively driven from the different posts occupied by them, until they fell back upon the main body of their army, by this time, encamped on the advantageous ground already mentioned. These skirmishes were terminated by a sharp action in front of the American encampment, obstinately maintained for half an hour, at the end of which the troops engaged on both

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both sides were withdrawn. The loss of the provincials in killed, wounded, and missing, during the various engagements of this day, amounted to two hundred and eleven men, including officers; and so obstinately did they dispute the ground with their pursuers, that the loss of the British troops was not much inferior. The latter were now, in their turn, become the assailants, and during the following day preparations were made for attacking the provincials in their encampment; but, in the evening of that day, general Sullivan, after having purposely exhibited every appearance of an intention to maintain his ground, silently struck his tents as soon as it was dark, and withdrew his troops unperceived; which, with the help of the numerous boats that attended upon him, were, in a few hours, transported across the channel to the continent. His artillery and baggage had been passed over during the preceding day.

Fortunately for the provincials, sir Henry Clinton, who was hastening with four thousand men to the relief of Rhode Island, was detained for some days by contrary winds in his passage through the Sound, otherwise the retreat of general Sullivan and his army would in all probability have been cut off. Even after all the delays which occurred, sir Henry Clinton arrived at Rhode Island the day after it was evacuated.

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*Discontents and Clamours in the American States—
Riots between the American and French Seamen at
Boston—and at Charlestown, South Carolina—
Expedition to Buzzard's Bay—Expeditions against
Little Egg Harbour, a noted Rendezvous for Pri-
vateers—The Weather this Summer uncommonly
boisterous in the Atlantic Ocean—Dispersion and
Fate of the Fleet under Admiral Byron—The Ad-
miral struggles in vain against adverse Fortune—
The Count D'Estaing sets sail to the West In-
dies.*

THE total failure of the expedition against Rhode Island occasioned great murmuring throughout the American continent, particularly amongst the inhabitants of the northern states, who were most interested, and had in a more especial manner exerted themselves to promote its success. In these states the clamours of the people were loud against the count D'Estaing, for deserting them in the midst of an expedition which he knew was undertaken only in consequence of his promise of co-operation. These murmurings the governing powers prudently endeavoured to suppress, that they might not give offence to their new allies; but they were nevertheless, in part, the cause of a dangerous riot that happened at Boston, between the American and French seamen; in which several of the latter were severely wounded. Nearly about the same time, too, a similar riot happened at Charlestown,

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mours in
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Riots be-
tween the
American
and French
seamen at
Boston; and
at Charle-
stown, South
Carolina.

CHAP. in South Carolina, between the same classes of
 XXV. people, but more fatal in the effects, as some lives
 1778. on both sides were lost. Indeed, the manners of
 the people were yet so little assimilated, that a cordial agreement could scarcely be expected. At both those places, however, means were fallen upon to appease the tumults, and great pains were taken to give satisfaction to the French, whom, at this early stage of the connexion, it would have been highly imprudent to disgust.

Sir Henry Clinton, having been disappointed in cutting off the retreat of the provincials from Rhode Island, returned with the fleet of transports towards New York, as far as New London; at which place he proposed making a descent, for the purpose of destroying a number of privateers, which, rendezvousing at this port, greatly infested that part of the trade to New York which passed through the Sound. But as he approached the mouth of the river which, passing by New London, empties itself into the Sound, the wind became unfavourable, and prevented the fleet from entering: And as the appearance of the weather indicated a continuance of the same unfavourable wind, the commander in chief here left the fleet, and continued his passage to New York, having first given orders to major-general, now sir Charles Grey, upon whom the command of the troops on board the transports now devolved, to proceed to the eastward upon a similar expedition in Buzzard's Bay.

Expedition
 under general
 Grey to
 Buzzard's
 Bay.

The object of this expedition was to destroy the privateers upon the Acushnet river in Plymouth county in New England, together with a number of prizes which they had lately taken; and never was a service more effectually performed. The fleet of transports having proceeded to the eastward with a fair wind, landed the troops

on the banks of the Acushnet river at six in the evening of the fifth of September. And such was the rapidity of the execution, that by noon of the next day they were all re-embarked, having, in the mean time, burnt and destroyed all the ships in the whole extent of the river, amounting to more than seventy sail. They also burnt at Bedford and Fairhaven, the one of these towns situated on the west, and the other on the east side of the river, a number of storehouses filled with provisions, merchandise, naval and warlike stores, and the cargoes of the prize-ships, with several wharfs, and two large rope-walks. They also dismantled and burnt, on the east side of the river, an inclosed fort mounting eleven pieces of heavy cannon, with a magazine, and barracks for two hundred men*: This service being performed with the loss of only one man killed, four wounded, and sixteen missing, in exchange for whom sixteen persons were brought from Bedford. The troops being re-embarked, the fleet proceeded to the island called Martha's Vineyard, where they also took or burnt several vessels, destroyed a saltwork, and obliged the inhabitants to deliver up their arms, and furnish a contribution of ten thousand sheep, and three hundred

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* Vessels, Stores, &c. destroyed on Acushnet River, the 5th of September 1778, by the troops under Major General Grey.

8 sail of large ships, from 200 to 300 tons burden, most of them prizes.

6 armed vessels, from 10 to 16 guns.

A number of sloops and schooners, amounting in all to 70, besides whale-boats and others.

26 store houses at Bedford, and several at M^rPherson's Wharf, Cran's Mills, and Fairhaven, filled with rum, sugar, melasses, coffee, tobacco, cotton, tea, medicines, gunpowder, sail-cloth, cordage, &c.

Two large rope walks.

13 pieces of ordnance destroyed at the fort, the magazine blown up, and the platform and barracks for 200 men burnt.

oxen;

HISTORY OF THE

CHAP. oxen; and with this seasonable supply of provi-
XXV. sions the fleet returned to New York †.

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Expeditions
against
Little Egg
Harbour, a
rendezvous
for priva-
teers.

Another expedition was soon afterwards planned against Little Egg Harbour, on the east coast of New Jersey, which was also a noted rendezvous for privateers. The vicinity of this, otherwise insignificant, little port, to that tract of the sea through which vessels usually pass either in entering or coming from the harbour of New York to the southward, rendered it a most convenient situation for annoying the trade of that place; and on that account the expedition against it became an object of some consideration. To favour the success of this, as well as to procure forage, and open the country on both sides of the North River, for the admission of provisions, the army was put in motion. The first division, under Lord Cornwallis, advancing on the west side of the North River into the country of New Jersey, took a position between that river and Newbridge, on the Hackinsack, the right of this division extending to the North River, and the left to the Hackinsack; whilst general Knyphau-

† Vessels; Stores, &c. taken or destroyed by the troops under Major General Grey, at Falmouth, in the Vineyard Sound, and at the Island of Martha's Vineyard.

At Falmouth, 2 sloops and a schooner taken; and one sloop burnt.

At Martha's Vineyard, one brig of 150 tons, and one schooner of 70 tons burden, burnt; and four other vessels with 23 whale-boats, taken or destroyed.

A salt-work destroyed, and a considerable quantity of salt taken.

388 stand of arms taken, with bayonets, pouches, flints, some gunpowder, and a quantity of lead.

300 oxen and 10,000 sheep.

1000l. sterling in paper, the amount of a tax collected in Martha's Vineyard by the authority of the congress, was received of the collector.

fen,

sen, with the other division of the army, took a parallel position on the east side of the North River, his left reaching to that river at Wepperham, and his right to the Brunx. From the relative situations of the divisions separated from each other only by the North River, the whole, by means of the flat-bottomed boats, could have been assembled on either side of the river in less than twenty-four hours; whereas general Washington, from not having the command of that river, could not have assembled his troops in less than ten days. Sensible of these disadvantages, and probably foreseeing that this advanced position of the British army was only a temporary movement, he did not attempt to draw his troops together, but sent forward detachments to interrupt and confine as much as possible the operations of the British foragers. One of these detachments was in front of lord Cornwallis's division, and occupied the villages of Old and New Taapan; a regiment of light horse, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Baylor, being quartered at the first of these places, and a body of militia at the other. Intelligence of their position having been received, a plan was laid by lord Cornwallis for cutting them off. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with the seventy-first regiment, and the queen's rangers from general Knyphausen's division, was to pass the North River, and attack the provincials at New Taapan, whilst another column from lord Cornwallis's division, led by major-general Grey, should advance on the left, and attack those at Old Taapan. By some delay which occurred in transporting lieutenant-colonel Campbell's column across the North River, the boats not having arrived in time, and by the intelligence carried to the enemy by some deserters from this column, the provincials at New Taapan were alarmed in

time

CHAP. time to make their escape. But the village of
 XXV. Old Taapan was so completely surrounded in the
 1778. night by the left column, under major-general
 Grey, whose prompt execution and unrivalled
 success in enterprises of this nature had been the
 terror of the provincials ever since the surprise
 of general Wayne, that very few of the regiment
 which was quartered in it were able to make their
 escape. The greatest part either fell victims to
 the carnage incident to the confusion and uncer-
 tainty of a nightly attack; or were fortunate to
 be made prisoners; and amongst the latter was
 their commander, dangerously wounded. The
 regiment was entirely ruined; and the suddenness
 and severity of this nightly enterprise struck such
 terror into the provincials that the British for-
 agers were not afterwards interrupted.

In the mean time, the squadron destined for
 Little Egg Harbour, sailed from New York under
 the direction of captain Collins of the Zebra. This
 little squadron consisted of the Zebra, Vigilant,
 Nautilus, some gallies, small armed vessels, and
 transports. On board the transports were em-
 barked three hundred troops from the fifth regi-
 ment, and the New Jersey volunteers, the whole
 under the command of captain Patrick Ferguson,
 of the seventieth regiment, an active, zealous, and
 able officer, who, in this expedition, was entrusted
 with the conduct of the land service. Although
 this squadron left New York on the thirtieth of
 September, it did not arrive off Little Egg Har-
 bour till the fifth of October in the evening, on
 account of contrary winds; and in the mean time
 the country had been alarmed by receiving intel-
 ligence of the place of its destination; which
 gave an opportunity to four privateers to put to
 sea and make their escape, whilst the other vessels
 were carried up the river, as far as their draft of
 water

water would permit. As the commanders of this expedition learnt on their arrival at Little Egg Harbour that the country had been already alarmed, they determined to lose no farther time in carrying it into execution. On the morning of the 6th, the wind still preventing the transports from entering the harbour, the troops were embarked on board the smaller vessels, which, with the row-galleys, proceeded about twenty miles up the river to a place called Chesnut Neck, where were several vessels, and a small village with store-houses, for the reception of prize-goods. Here the provincials had erected two batteries; one level with the water, and the other upon a commanding eminence; but neither of them yet mounted with artillery. Behind these batteries, and a breast-work which they had also thrown up, they at first made a formidable shew of resistance; but as soon as the troops were landed under cover of the row-galleys, fled. The batteries, with the houses and stores, were immediately demolished by the troops, whilst the seamen set on fire and burnt ten large prize ships, which in consequence of the previous alarm had been skuttled by the provincials, and could not be brought off. It had been proposed to penetrate by the same river as far as a place called the Forks, the grand depot for prize-goods, within thirty-five miles of Philadelphia; but information was now received that the militia in that part of the country were reinforced by a detachment of foot, a small train of artillery, and a corps of light-horse; and as, from the shallowness of the navigation, the troops could not be farther accompanied by the row-galleys, it was determined to abandon this part of the enterprise, as impracticable. The troops were accordingly re-imbarked, and proceeded down the river. In their passage they were twice landed, and destroyed

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stroyed three salt-works, and some houses and stores belonging to persons either concerned in fitting out privateers, or whose activity in the cause of America, and unrelenting persecution of the loyalists, marked them out as proper objects of vengeance. After the gallies and smaller vessels had joined the squadron in the harbour, they were prevented from putting to sea for some days by contrary winds; and during this interval an officer and some privates, deserters from Pulaski's American legion, having come on board, gave such an account of the position of that corps, lying only at the distance of twelve miles up the river, as suggested to the active and enterprising mind of captain Ferguson the probability of surprising it. Pulaski's corps, consisting of three companies of foot, three troops of horse, and a detachment of artillery, with one brass field-piece, was quartered about a mile beyond a bridge, which captain Ferguson proposed to seize, for the purpose of securing his retreat: And two miles beyond Pulaski's corps, lay a provincial colonel with a detachment of artillery, some field pieces, and the militia of the country. Captain Ferguson having minutely informed himself of their situation, communicated his ideas to captain Collins; and it was agreed that the attempt should be made. At eleven at night, two hundred and fifty troops were embarked in the boats, which, rowing ten miles up the river, landed them at four in the morning. The bridge being immediately secured, and left under the guard of fifty men, the rest of the detachment pushed forward, and surrounding the quarters of Pulaski's infantry, cut them to pieces. Very few escaped, and only five were made prisoners. The Americans themselves numbered fifty that were slain, and amongst these
three

three officers; one of whom was of rank; the baron de Bosc, a lieutenant-colonel. As this surprise was effected within two miles of a force superior in number to the assailants, not only celerity of execution, but an immediate retreat, became necessary, which, in consequence of the bridge having been previously secured, was made with ease and safety. The troops were re-embarked without any other loss than two men missing, and one officer and two privates wounded; and as soon as the wind proved favourable the squadron returned to New York.

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The surprise of Baylor's dragoons at Old Taapan, and that of Pulaski's legion near Little Egg Harbour, both of which happened nearly about the same time, gave fresh occasion to the Americans to pour forth much virulent invective against the cruelty of the British troops. But whilst we admit the severity of the execution on both these occasions, candour requires us to add, that as both those attacks were made by surprise, and both in the night, and as the success of a surprise depends in a great measure upon celerity of execution, it is impossible, under such circumstances, for a commander, however humane, to prevent carnage. In the last of these enterprises, it is also to be remarked, that captain Ferguson's soldiers were highly irritated by intelligence immediately before received from the deserters, that count Pulaski had given it out in public orders to his legion, no longer to grant quarter to the British troops. This intelligence afterwards appeared to be false; but in the mean time captain Ferguson's soldiers acted under the impression that it was true; and to his honour it is to be related, that although he did not screen the guilty, he was careful to spare the innocent. The dwelling of a persecuting committee-man he razed to the ground,

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but saved from the flames the house of a peaceable, inoffensive Quaker, although it contained part of the baggage and equipage of Pulaski's legion, which it was an object to destroy, and which he had not time to destroy in any other way than by setting fire to the house; but the house, belonging to a peaceable man, was saved, and with it the baggage.

Before the squadron from Little Egg Harbour returned to New York, the British army was withdrawn from its forward position; and in this quarter nothing material was undertaken or achieved on either side during the remainder of the season.

The weather this summer uncommonly tempestuous in the Atlantic ocean.

Dispersion and fate of the fleet under admiral Byron.

The weather, throughout the whole of this summer, appears to have been uncommonly boisterous in the Atlantic ocean. From this cause admiral Byron's fleet, which sailed from England on the ninth of June, to counteract the designs of count D'Estaing on the American coast, was not only delayed in its passage, but was at length, on the third of July, dispersed and separated by a storm. Some of the ships arrived singly at New York, in the manner we have already seen; and six of them, under admiral Parker, having been fortunate enough to keep together, reached that port on the twenty-ninth of August. But admiral Byron himself, in the Princess Royal, which ship was at last left alone, after having made good his passage within thirty leagues of Sandy Hook, came in sight of twelve ships, on the eighteenth of August, about ten miles to leeward of him, which, from their signals, he at length discovered to be the French fleet; and as these ships from their situation equally obstructed his course to New York or to Rhode Island, he was obliged, by a necessity of refitting, to bear away for Halifax; where he arrived on the twenty-sixth of that month,

month, and found the Culloden, another of his fleet, already in the harbour. Both these ships being refitted with the utmost dispatch, he sailed again on the fourth of September, and arrived at New York about the middle of that month. The ships of his squadron which arrived there before him were so shattered and torn to pieces in the different storms they had encountered, that with all the dispatch that could be used they were not in readiness to proceed to sea till the eighteenth of October. On that day the admiral sailed again in quest of the count D'Estaing, but his ill fortune still continued to persecute him. Scarcely had he reached the bay of Boston, when, on the first of November, another tremendous storm arose, drove his ships out to sea, and so disabled them that he was obliged to return to Rhode Island to refit, and leave the bay of Boston unguarded. The count D'Estaing, whose ships were by this time completely refitted, embraced the favourable opportunity of putting to sea, which the departure of the British fleet had given him; and leaving the harbour of Boston on the third of November directed his course to the West-Indies.

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The admiral struggles in vain against adverse fortune.

The count D'Estaing sets sail to the West Indies.

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Expedition to the West Indies under the Command of General Grant—The British Commissioners return to England—Review of their Proceedings—Expedition against Georgia—Reduction of Savannah.

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Expedition
to the West
Indies under
the
command
of general
Grant.

THE season for active operations between the two grand armies being now over, and no greater force being necessary to be kept at New York, during the winter, than would be sufficient for the defence of the different posts occupied by the British troops; as soon as admiral Byron had sailed from thence for the bay of Boston, a detachment of five thousand troops was put under orders for embarkation, to proceed to the West Indies, under the command of general Grant. This force sailed from Sandy Hook on the third of November. The transports were escorted by a squadron of six ships of war, under the command of commodore Hotham. Towards the end of the same month another embarkation took place, the object of which was the reduction of the province of Georgia. The troops sent on this service were commanded by lieutenant colonel Campbell, of the seventy-first regiment, and the naval force by commodore Hyde Parker.

The British
commissioners
return to
England.

About the time of the last of these embarkations the British commissioners took a final leave of America, and sailed for England. We shall here, therefore, interrupt the thread of hostile detail,
for

for the sake of giving a summary account of their proceedings subsequent to the answer of congress to their first application. In that answer, the congress, as a preliminary to all negotiation, had required either an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of America, or else that the British fleets and armies should be withdrawn: And even then they confined the extent of the negotiation to such an agreement as should not be inconsistent with treaties already subsisting between them and foreign powers. Although the British commissioners, after receiving this answer, must have been convinced that all farther attempts at negotiation with the congress must be fruitless, they nevertheless thought it necessary to reply, that it might clearly appear to the world not to be owing to any backwardness in them, if the negotiation should not succeed. In this reply, dated at New York the eleventh of July, they rejected the last of the two alternative preliminaries, which regarded the withdrawing of the British fleets and armies, as entirely inadmissible; not only for the sake of guarding against the designs of the natural enemy of Great Britain, but for the safety of those who, in America, had taken an active part in favour of the mother-country: And, with respect to the first of the alternatives, they declared, that if the congress, by the independence of America, meant no more than the entire privilege of the people of that continent to dispose of their own property and to govern themselves without any reference to Great Britain beyond what is necessary to preserve an union of force for the safety of the whole empire, such an independence had been already acknowledged in the first letter from the commissioners. They also reminded the congress that they had furnished that assembly with a copy of the powers under which they acted, and as a reciprocal

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reciprocal mark of confidence they expected that the congress would make known to them the powers with which they were entrusted by their constituents to contract alliances with foreign powers; and, as these alliances were to have an influence on the negotiation, so they also expected copies of the treaties on which they were founded. But the congress took no further notice of this second letter of the commissioners, than barely to enter a resolution upon their journals, importing that no answer should be given to it; as neither of the preliminary conditions upon which alone a negotiation could commence, had been yet complied with.

General Burgoyne's army being still retained in captivity, in direct violation of the convention under which it had surrendered, a remonstrance on this subject, bearing date the seventh of August, was the next paper addressed to the congress by the British commissioners. In this remonstrance they complained with some severity of the detention of those troops, demanded a free entrance for transports into the harbour of Boston to transport them to Great Britain, according to the terms of the convention; and, to remove every possible difficulty, offered to renew and ratify on the part of Great Britain every article of that convention, more especially the article by which the troops were bound not to serve against America during the war; and to this representation they demanded a speedy, direct, and explicit answer. But the congress, instead of returning a direct answer, transmitted to them a remonstrance on the conduct of governor Johnstone, one of the commissioners, in which he was charged with attempting to bribe and corrupt some of their members: And this remonstrance was accompanied with a declaration that it was incompatible with

with the honour of congress to hold any farther communication or intercourse with governor Johnstone, more especially upon affairs in which the cause of liberty and virtue was interested.

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This charge was founded on letters written by governor Johnstone to individual members of congress*, with some of whom he was personally acquainted,

* In consequence of an order of congress, that all letters received by members of that body, or their agents, from any subject of Great Britain, of a public nature, should be laid before them, the following letters were laid on the table from governor Johnstone :

To FRANCIS DANA, Esq. (Private)

“ DEAR SIR,

“ IT gives me great pleasure to find your name amongst the list of congress, because I am persuaded, from personal knowledge of me, and my family and connexions, you can entertain no jealousy that I would engage in the execution of any commission that was inamicable to the rights and privileges of America, or the general liberties of mankind ; while, on the other hand, your character must be so well known, that no man will suspect you will yield any point that is contrary to the real interest of your country ; and therefore it will be presumed we will lose no opportunity, from false punctilios of meeting to discuss our differences fairly, and that, if we do agree, it will be on the most liberal, and therefore the most lasting terms of union. There are three facts I wish to assure you of. First, That Dr. Franklin, on the 28th of March last, in discussing the several articles we wish to make the basis of our treaty, was perfectly satisfied they were beneficial to North America, and such as she should accept. Second, That this treaty with France was not the first treaty that France had *exacted*, and with which Mr. Simeon Deane had put to sea, but granted and acceded to after the sentiments of the people of Great Britain had fully changed, after the friends to America had gained these points for reconciliation, and solely with a view to disappoint the good effects of our endeavours. You will be pleased to hear the pamphlet wrote by Mr. Pulteney was a great means of opening the minds of the people of England to the real state of the question between us, and that it has run through thirteen editions. The third fact is, That Spain, unasked, had sent a formal message, disapproving of the conduct of France. All these I will engage to prove to your satisfaction. I beg to recommend to your personal

CHAP. acquainted, and for others had received letters of
 XXVI. introduction from their friends in England. Go-
 vernor
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sonal civilities, my friend Dr. Ferguson. He is a man of the greatest genius and virtue, and has always been a steady friend to America. Private.

"If you follow the example of Britain in the hour of her privilege, insolence, and madness, and refuse to hear us, I still expect, since I am here, to have the privilege of coming among you, and seeing the country, as there are many men, whose virtues I admire above Greek and Roman names, that I should be glad to tell my children about.

"I am, with esteem and affection, dear Sir,

"Your friend and servant,

Philadelphia, June 10, 1778.

"GEO. JOHNSTONE."

To General JOSEPH REED.

"SIR,

"YOUR near and worthy relation, Mr. Dennis de Berdt, has made me happy by favouring me with a letter to you. I have been informed by general Robertson of your great worth and consequence in the unhappy disputes that have subsisted between Great Britain and her descendants. Your pen and your sword have both been used with glory and advantage in vindicating the rights of mankind, and of that community of which you was a part. Such a conduct, as the first and superior of all human duties, must ever command my warmest friendship and veneration.

"In the midst of those affecting scenes, my feeble voice has not been wanting to stop the evils in their progress, and to remove, on a large and liberal footing, the cause of all jealousy;—that every subject of the empire might live equally free and secure in the enjoyment of the blessings of life;—not one part dependent on the will of another with opposite interests, but a general union on terms of perfect security and mutual advantage.

"During the contest, I am free to confess, my wishes have ever been, that America might so far prevail as to oblige this country to see their error, and to reflect and reason fairly in the case of others, heirs to the same privileges with themselves. It has pleased God in his justice so to dispose of events, that this kingdom is at length convinced of her folly and her faults. A commission under parliamentary authority is now issued for settling in a manner consistent with that union of force on which the safety

vernor Johnstone had not only been an uniform
 but a strenuous advocate in the British parliament
 for

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safety of both parties depends, all the differences that have or can subsist between Great Britain and America, short of a total separation of interests. In this commission I am an unworthy associate. Though no man can feel the desire of cementing in peace and friendship every member of what was called the British empire, stronger than myself; yet I am sensible that it might have fallen to the lot of many persons better qualified to attain the end proposed. All I can claim is ardent zeal and upright intentions; and when I reflect that this negotiation must depend much more upon perfect integrity than refinement of understanding, where a sensible, magnanimous people will see their own interest, and carefully guard their honour in every transaction, I am more inclined to hope, from the good will I have always borne them, I am not altogether unqualified for the task.

“ If it be (as I hope it is) the disposition of good men in the provinces to prefer freedom, in conjunction with Great Britain to an union with the ancient enemy of both; if it is their generous inclination to forget recent injuries, and recall to their remembrances former benefits, I am in hopes we may yet be great and happy. I am sure the people of America will find in my brother-commissioners, and myself, a fair and cheerful concurrence in adjusting every point to their utmost wish, not inconsistent, as I said before, with a beneficial union of interests, which is the object of our commission.

“ Nothing could surpass the glory you have acquired in arms, except the generous magnanimity of meeting on the terms of justice and equality, after demonstrating to the world that the fear of force could have no just influence in that decision.

“ The man who can be instrumental in bringing us all to act once more in harmony, and unite together the various powers which this contest has drawn forth, will deserve more from the king and people, from patriotism, humanity, friendship, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, than ever was yet bestowed on human kind.

“ This letter from Mr. de Berdt I shall consider as an introduction to you, which line of communication I shall endeavour by every means to improve, by public demonstrations of respect, or private friendship, as your answer may enable me.

“ I am, with great respect, Sir,

“ Your most obedient, and most humble servant,

London, April 11, 1778.

“ GEO. JOHNSTONE.”

CHAP. XXVI. for the rights originally claimed by the Americans; and therefore, probably, thought himself entitled to take greater liberties with those whose cause he had so powerfully supported, than the other commissioners; and being also fully of opinion that the privileges now offered to the colonies, which were abundantly sufficient for securing their

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To ROBERT MORRIS, Esq (*Private*)

"DEAR SIR, Philadelphia, June 16, 1778.

"I CAME to this country in a sincere belief that a reconciliation between Great Britain and America could be established on terms honourable and beneficial to both. I am persuaded, and can prove, that the last treaty with France should be no bar, and the first treaty, if ever you saw it, should be an inducement.

"Supposing every obstacle to prevent us from treating removed, we are then to consider whether the terms proposed are advantageous. I inclose you my sentiments on the subject at large; if they concur with yours, we shall join in the work with all the prudence, and all the means possible and virtuous. I believe the men who have conducted the affairs of America incapable of being influenced by improper motives. But in all such transactions there is risk, and I think that whoever ventures should be secured, at the same time that honour and emolument should naturally follow the fortune of those who have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her safely to port. I think that Washington and the president have a right to every favour that grateful nations can bestow, if they could once more unite our interests, and spare the miseries and devastations of war. I wish above all things to see you, and hope you will so contrive it. Do not think Great Britain is so low; remember she never can be lower than you were at Trenton. It is the same blunders who produced the war who have conducted it. When the sense of the nation is roused, believe me she can make struggles that few have conceived, but which I should be sorry to see exerted on such an occasion.

"Whatever may be our fate, I shall ever retain the strictest private friendship for you and yours; but let me entreat you to recall all those endearing ties to your recollection.

"I am, with affection and esteem, dear Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"GEO. JOHNSTONE."

their liberty, peace, and permanent happiness, and more extensive than those originally claimed by themselves, ought to be thankfully accepted, perhaps he was, for that reason, less scrupulous about the means of inducing acceptance.

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Although, in the extracts of the letters which were published on this occasion by the congress, there was nothing which amounted to the direct offer of a bribe, yet it cannot be denied that general expectations were held out both of honours and rewards, as naturally appertaining to those who should be instrumental in cementing the disjointed parts of the empire, and putting an end to the horrors and devastations of war. If we suppose the members of congress, to whom these letters were addressed, to have been actuated by the pure principles of virtue, patriotism, and love of their country, such letters, which held out selfish considerations as motives to influence their conduct in a public concern of such magnitude, must necessarily have been offensive; and it was probably owing to some offended feeling of this sort that governor Johnstone's private correspondence was at first disclosed, and afterwards became the subject of public reprehension. Upon the receipt of this complaint and declaration, governor Johnstone immediately withdrew from the commission, and in the public act executed by him on this occasion to testify his resolution, which was transmitted to the congress and bore date the twenty-sixth of August, he recriminated on that assembly, and indirectly charged them with laying hold of this pretence to avoid returning an answer to the requisition of the commissioners on the subject of general Burgoyne's army; in the same manner as on a former occasion they had passed resolutions about the cartouch-boxes of that army, to afford a seeming justification for breaking through

CHAP. through the convention by which it had surren-
XXVI. dered. And as he had accepted the office of a
1778. commissioner only from the desire of furthering
the work of peace and reconciliation, so he sig-
nified to them his determination, that no act done
by him should furnish a pretence for retarding so
desirable an end. He therefore declared, that he
would take no farther part in any thing that
should be done under the commission, reserving
to himself, however, the privilege of publishing,
if he should think fit, a refutation of the aspersi-
ons which the congress had attempted to throw
upon him. The other commissioners at the same
time transmitted a declaration, specifying, that
they were utter strangers to the letters, and to
the several things mentioned in the remonstrance
of the congress respecting governor Johnstone,
until they had seen them published in the new-
papers: That they neither meant to admit the
construction put upon those letters by the con-
gress, nor to enter into an explanation of go-
vernor Johnstone's conduct, whose abilities and
integrity required no vindication from them; but
that, in justice to him and to themselves, and for
the honour of the commission, they thought it
necessary to declare, that in all the conversations
held with him on the subject of their mission, the
principle of his reasoning seemed to be, that the
terms which they were empowered to offer to
America were calculated to promote and establish
the liberties, peace, opulence, increase, security,
and permanent happiness of that continent, and
that no other connexion or form of government
could be equally conducive to those ends. As the
commissioners seem to have been of opinion that
the recent connexion with France was the prin-
cipal obstacle which they had to encounter, they
embraced this opportunity of adducing in their
letter

letter to congress some new topics of reasoning to enforce their former communications on that subject, and endeavoured to demonstrate, that the interference of that power was rather from enmity to Great Britain than friendship to America, and merely intended to prolong the contest, and frustrate the effects of the liberal concessions made by the mother-country. They concluded by intimating that, in their opinion, the general congress, upon the ground of their connexion with France, even if they had been legally authorised to enter into it, were not entitled to assume so decisive a part as they had taken, without first consulting with their constituents, the provincial assemblies, and laying before them a state of facts upon which a true judgment might be formed. The commissioners, along with this declaration, dispatched again their former remonstrance on the detention of the Saratoga troops, signed only by the earl of Carlisle, sir Henry Clinton, and Mr. Eden: And these were the last of their papers particularly addressed to the congress.

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The congress were probably disconcerted by the readiness with which governor Johnstone withdrew from taking any further part in the execution of the commission. It was obviously their wish to detain the Saratoga troops as prisoners until they should be redeemed by exchange. It was also their intention not to enter upon any negotiation with the British commissioners compatible with their powers, lest they should give umbrage, or create jealousy in their new allies: And, to effect both these ends, it is probable that they would have willingly laid hold of the pretence of governor Johnstone's conduct to break off all communication or correspondence with the British commissioners, more especially as they knew there was still a moderate party in all the colonies, which
thought

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thought the terms offered by the commissioners sufficiently liberal to be accepted, and viewed with extreme concern and apprehension the new connexion formed with France; a kingdom which they had been taught to consider as proverbially faithless. The stumbling-block being removed which the congress had endeavoured to raise in the person of governor Johnstone, they were under a necessity for their own credit, of paying some attention to the remonstrances of the British commissioners on the detention of the convention army; but instead of repelling the charges which had been brought against them, of having violated the law of nations by infringing a military convention, they again laid hold of a miserable subterfuge, and adhering to a literal interpretation of their former resolution regarding general Burgoyne's army, they passed another, bearing date the fourth of September, as an implied answer to the remonstrance of the commissioners, which imported that no ratification of the convention of Saratoga that might be tendered in consequence of powers which may reach that case by construction and implication, or which may subject whatever is transacted relative to it to the future approbation, or disapprobation, of the parliament of Great Britain, could be accepted. That this resolution was evasive is apparent, when we reflect that it was passed without any previous inquiry into the powers under which the commissioners offered to renew the convention. For any thing that the congress knew, the commissioners might have had special authority delegated to them by the king, for this particular purpose, and independent of their general commission. But, to drive that assembly from every subterfuge, and to remove every previous objection,

tion, sir Henry Clinton, on the nineteenth of September, transmitted to them an extract from an instruction sent to him by the secretary of state, and received since the date of the remonstrance made by the commissioners, by which he was authorised, not in implied, but express terms, to demand a performance of the convention made with general Burgoyne, and, if required, to renew and ratify, in the king's name, all the conditions stipulated in it. The offer of a ratification now made seemed to be of that positive and precise nature which substantially removed every previous objection. But the congress were not to be satisfied; and to fill up the climax of that system of evasion which they had pursued in all their deliberations on this subject, they affected to consider sir Henry Clinton's letter as deficient in respect, from the casual use of an expression of disapprobation, which, in the warmth of his feelings as a soldier, when vindicating the rights of soldiers grossly violated, he had incautiously suffered to escape him; and instead of answering or complying with the requisition, directed their secretary to write to the British general, "that congress gave no answer to insolent letters." Thus those brave troops who had surrendered at Saratoga, upon the faith of a convention, which stipulated for their return to Great Britain, were, by the gross violation of it, obstinately persisted in by the congress, still destined to bear all the ills incident to a state of captivity.

The British commissioners, finding all efforts to open a negotiation with the congress vain and fruitless, at last, on the third of October, published a manifesto and proclamation, addressed not only to the congress, but to all the provincial assemblies, and to all the inhabitants of the colonies

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CHAP. nies of whatever denomination *, in which they
 XXVI. briefly recapitulated the different steps taken by
 1778. them

* "MANIFESTO AND PROCLAMATION.

" To the Members of the Congress, the Members of the General Assemblies or Conventions of the several Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower Countries on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and all others, Inhabitants of the said Colonies, of every Rank and Denomination.

" By the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden, Esq. Commissioners appointed by his Majesty, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament, made and passed in the 18th Year of his Majesty's Reign, to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners to treat, consult, and agree upon the Means of quieting the Disorders now subsisting in certain of the Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces in North America.

" HAVING amply and repeatedly made known to the congress, and having also proclaimed to the inhabitants of North America in general, the benevolent overtures of Great Britain towards a re-union and coalition with her colonies, we do not think it consistent either with the duty we owe to our country, or with a just regard to the characters we bear, to persist in holding out offers, which, in our estimation, required only to be known to be most gratefully accepted; and we have accordingly, excepting only the commander in chief, who will be detained by military duties, resolved to return to England, a few weeks after the date of this manifesto and proclamation.

" Previous however to this decisive step, we are led by a just anxiety for the great objects of our mission, to enlarge on some points which may not have been sufficiently understood, to recapitulate to our fellow-subjects the blessings which we are empowered to confer, and to warn them of the continued train of evils to which they are at present blindly and obstinately exposing themselves.

" To the members of the congress then, we again declare, that we are ready to concur in all satisfactory and just arrangements for securing to them, and their respective constituents, the re-establishment of peace, with the exemption from any imposition of taxes by the parliament of Great Britain, and the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege consistent with that union

them to accomplish the object of the commission, ^{CHAP.}
 and the refusal of the congress even to open a ^{XXVI.}
 conference 1778.

union of interests and force on which our mutual prosperity and the safety of our common religion and liberty depend. We again assert, that the members of the congress were not authorised by their constitution, either to reject our offers without the previous consideration and consent of the several assemblies and conventions of their constituents, or to refer us to pretended foreign treaties, which they know were delusively framed in the first instance, and which have never yet been ratified by the people of this continent. And we once more remind the members of the congress, that they are responsible to their countrymen, to the world, and to God, for the continuance of this war; and for all the miseries with which it must be attended.

“ To the general assemblies and conventions of the different colonies, plantations, and provinces, above mentioned, we now separately make the offers which we originally transmitted to the congress; and we hereby call upon and urge them to meet, expressly for the purpose of considering whether every motive, political as well as moral, should not decide their resolution to embrace the occasion of cementing a free and firm coalition with Great Britain. It has not been, nor is it, our wish, to seek the objects which we are commissioned to pursue, by fomenting popular divisions and partial cabals; we think such conduct would be ill suited to the generous offers made, and unbecoming the dignity of the king and the state which makes them. But it is both our wish and our duty to encourage and support any men, or bodies of men, in their return of loyalty to our sovereign, and of affection to our fellow-subjects.

“ To all others, free inhabitants of this once happy empire, we also address ourselves. Such of them as are actually in arms, of whatsoever rank or description, will do well to recollect, that the grievances, whether real or supposed, which led them into this rebellion, have been for ever removed, and that the just occasion is arrived for their returning to the class of peaceful citizens. But if the honours of a military life are become their object, let them seek those honours under the banners of their rightful sovereign, and in fighting the battles of the united British empire against our late mutual and natural enemy.

“ To those whose profession is to exercise the functions of religion on this continent, it cannot surely be unknown, that the foreign power with which the congress is endeavouring to connect them, has ever been averse to toleration, and inveterately
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conference with them. They again set forth the extent and beneficial tendency of the terms which they

opposed to the interests and freedom of the places of worship which they serve; and that Great Britain, from whom they are for the present separated, must, both from the principles of her constitution, and of protestantism, be at all times the best guardian of religious liberty, and most disposed to promote and extend it.

“ To all those who can estimate the blessings of peace, and its influence over agriculture, arts, and commerce, who can feel a due anxiety for the education and establishment of their children, or who can place a just value on domestic security, we think it sufficient to observe, that they are made, by their leaders, to continue involved in all the calamities of war, without having either a just object to pursue, or a subsisting grievance which may not instantly be redressed.

“ But if there be any persons, who, divested of mistaken sentiments, and uninfluenced by selfish interests, really think that it is for the benefit of the colonies to separate themselves from Great Britain, and that so separated they will find a constitution more mild, more free, and better calculated for their prosperity than that which they heretofore enjoyed, and which we are empowered and disposed to renew and improve; with such persons we will not dispute a position which seems to be sufficiently contradicted by the experience they have had. But we think it right to leave them fully aware of the charge which the maintaining such a position must make in the whole nature and future conduct of this war; more especially when to this position is added the pretended alliance with the court of France.

“ The policy, as well as the benevolence of Great Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people still considered as our fellow-subjects, and to desolate a country shortly to become again a source of mutual advantage: But when that country professes the unnatural design, not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself and her resources to our enemies, the whole contest is changed; and the question is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless a connexion contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France.

“ Under such circumstances, the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain; and if the British colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy.

“ If,

they were empowered to offer. Notwithstanding the obstructions which they had met with, they still declared

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“ If, however, there are any who think that, notwithstanding these reasonings, the independence of the colonies will, in the result, be acknowledged by Great Britain, to them we answer, without reserve, that we neither possess or expect powers for that purpose; and that if Great Britain could ever have sunk so low as to adopt such a measure, we should not have thought ourselves compellable to be the instruments in making a concession which would, in our opinion, be calamitous to the colonies for whom it is made, and disgraceful, as well as calamitous, to the country from which it is required. And we think proper to declare, that in this spirit and sentiment we have regularly written from this continent to Great Britain.

“ It will now become the colonies in general to call to mind their own solemn appeals to heaven in the beginning of this contest, that they took arms only for the redress of grievances; and that it would be their wish, as well as their interest, to remain for ever connected with Great Britain. We again ask them, whether all their grievances, real or supposed, have not been amply and fully redressed; and we insist that the offers we have made leave nothing to be wished, in point of either immediate liberty or permanent security: If these offers are now rejected, we withdraw from the exercise of a commission, with which we have in vain been honoured; the same liberality will no longer be due from Great Britain, nor can it either in justice or policy be expected from her.

“ In fine, and for the fuller manifestation, as well of the disposition we bear, as of the gracious and generous purposes of the commission under which we act, we hereby declare, that whereas his majesty, in pursuance of an act of parliament, made and passed in the eighteenth year of his majesty's reign, entituled, ‘ An act to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree, upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America,’ having been pleased to authorise and empower us to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or description of persons within the colonies, plantations, and provinces of New Hampshire, Massachusetts's Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; and whereas the good effects of the said authorities and powers towards the people at large, would have long since taken place, if a due use had been made of our first communications and over-

CHAP. declared their readiness to proceed in the execution
 XXVI. of the powers contained in their commission, and
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tures, and have thus far been frustrated only by the precipitate resolution of the members of the congress not to treat with us, and by their declining to consult with their constituents; we now, in making our appeal to those constituents, and to the free inhabitants of this continent in general, have determined to give to them, what in our opinion should have been the first object of those who appeared to have taken the management of their interests; and adopt this mode of carrying the said authorities and powers into execution. *We accordingly hereby grant and proclaim a pardon or pardons of all, and all manner of, treasons or misprisions of treasons, by any person or persons, or by any number or description of persons, within the said colonies, plantations, or provinces, counselled, commanded, acted, or done, on or before the date of this manifesto and proclamation.*

“ And we farther declare and proclaim, that if any person or persons, or any number or description of persons, within the said colonies, plantations, and provinces, now actually serving either in a civil or military capacity in this rebellion, shall, at any time, during the continuance of this manifesto and proclamation, withdraw himself or themselves from such civil or military service, and shall continue thenceforth peaceably as a good and faithful subject or subjects to his majesty, to demean himself, or themselves, such person or persons, or such number and description of persons, shall become and be fully entitled to, and hereby obtain all the benefits of the pardon or pardons hereby granted; excepting only from the said pardon or pardons every person, and every number or description of persons, who, after the date of this manifesto and proclamation, shall, under any pretext or authority, as judges, jurymen, ministers, or officers of civil justice, be instrumental in executing and putting to death any of his majesty's subjects within the said colonies, plantations, and provinces.

“ And we think proper farther to declare, that nothing herein contained is meant, or shall be construed, to set at liberty any person or persons, now being a prisoner or prisoners, or who, during the continuance of this rebellion, shall become a prisoner or prisoners.

“ And we offer to the colonies at large or separately, a general or separate peace, with the revival of their ancient governments secured against any future infringements, and protected for ever from taxation by Great Britain.

“ And with respect to such further regulations, whether civil, military, or commercial, as they may wish to be framed and established

to treat not only with deputies from all the colonies conjunctly, but with any provincial assembly or convention individually, at any time within the space of forty days from the date of their manifesto; and then, addressing themselves to persons of every description, whether in civil, military, or ecclesiastical capacities, or in private stations,

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established, we promise all the concurrence and assistance that his majesty's commission authorises and enables us to give.

" And we declare, that this manifesto and proclamation shall continue and be in force forty days from the date thereof, that is to say, from the 3d day of October, to the 11th day of November, both inclusive.

" And in order that the whole contents of this manifesto and proclamation may be more fully known, we shall direct copies thereof, both in the English and German language, to be transmitted by flags of truce to the congress, the general assemblies or conventions of the colonies, plantations, and provinces, and to several persons both in civil and military capacities within the said colonies, plantations, and provinces; and for the further security in times to come of the several persons, or numbers or descriptions of persons, who are, or may be, the objects of this manifesto and proclamation, we have set our hands and seals to thirteen copies thereof, and have transmitted the same to the thirteen colonies, plantations, and provinces, above mentioned; and we are willing to hope that the whole of this manifesto and proclamation will be fairly and freely published and circulated, for the immediate, general, and most serious consideration and benefit of all his majesty's subjects on this continent. And we earnestly exhort all persons who by this instrument forthwith receive the benefit of the king's pardon, at the same time that they entertain a becoming sense of those lenient and affectionate measures whereby they are now free from grievous charges which might have risen in judgment, or have been brought in question, against them, to make a wise improvement of the situation in which this manifesto and proclamation places them, and not only to recollect that a perseverance in the present rebellion, or any adherence to the treasonable connexion attempted to be framed with a foreign power, will, after the present grace extended, be considered as crimes of the most aggravated kind; but to vie with each other in eager and cordial endeavours to secure their own peace, and promote and establish the prosperity of their countrymen, and the general weal of the empire.

" And

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tions, and suggesting severally to the consideration of each of these classes such motives as might be supposed

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“ And pursuant to his majesty’s commission, we hereby require all officers, civil and military, and all other his majesty’s loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting unto us in the execution of this our manifesto and proclamation, and of all the matters herein contained.

“ Given at New York, this 3d day of October 1788.

“ (L. S.) CARLISLE.

“ (L. S.) HEN. CLINTON.

“ (L. S.) WM. EDEN.

“ By their Excellencies command,

“ ADAM FERGUSON, Secretary.”

On the thirtieth of October the following Manifesto was published by Congress :

“ *By the Congress of the United States of America.*

“ M A N I F E S T O.

“ THESE United States having been driven to hostilities by the oppressive and tyrannous measures of Great Britain ; having been compelled to commit the essential rights of man to the decision of arms ; and having been at length forced to shake off a yoke which had grown too burdensome to bear, they declared themselves free and independent.

“ Confiding in the justice of their cause, confiding in Him who disposes of human events, although weak and unprovided, they set the power of their enemies at defiance.

“ In this confidence they have continued, through the various fortune of three bloody campaigns, unawed by the powers, unsubdued by the barbarity, of their foes. Their virtuous citizens have borne, without repining, the loss of many things which made life desirable. Their brave troops have patiently endured the hardships and dangers of a situation, fruitful in both beyond example.

“ The congress, considering themselves bound to love their enemies, as children of that Being who is equally the Father of all, and desirous, since they could not prevent, at least to alleviate, the calamities of war, have studied to spare those who were in arms against them, and to lighten the chains of captivity.

“ The conduct of those serving under the king of Great Britain hath, with some few exceptions, been diametrically opposite.

supposed to have the greatest influence, adjured them all not to less pass so favourable an opportunity

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posite. They have laid waste the open country, burned the defenceless villages, and butchered the citizens of America. Their prisons have been the slaughter-houses of her soldiers, their ships of her seamen, and the severest injuries have been aggravated by the grossest insults.

“ Foiled in their vain attempt to subjugate the unconquerable spirit of freedom, they have meanly assailed the representatives of America with bribes, with deceit, and the servility of adulation. They have made a mock of humanity, by the wanton destruction of men; they have made a mock of religion, by impious appeals to God, whilst in the violation of his sacred commands; they have made a mock even of reason itself, by endeavouring to prove, that the liberty and happiness of America could safely be entrusted to those who have *sold their own*, unawed by the sense of virtue or of shame.

“ Treated with the contempt which such conduct deserved, they have applied to individuals; they have solicited them to break the bonds of allegiance, and imbrue their souls with the blackest of crimes; but fearing that none could be found through these United States, equal to the wickedness of their purpose, to influence weak minds, they have threatened more wide devastation.

“ While the shadow of hope remained, that our enemies could be taught by our example to respect those laws which are held sacred among civilized nations, and to comply with the dictates of a religion which they pretend in common with us to believe and revere, they have been left to the influence of that religion, and that example. But since their incorrigible dispositions cannot be touched by kindness and compassion, it becomes our duty by other means to vindicate the rights of humanity.

“ We, therefore, the Congress of the United States of America, DO SOLEMNLY DECLARE AND PROCLAIM, That if our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions. And in his holy presence we declare, That as we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestions of anger or revenge, so through every possible change of fortune we will adhere to this our determination.

“ Done in congress, by unanimous consent, the thirtieth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.

“ CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.”

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nity of securing their liberties, and their future prosperity and happiness, upon a permanent foundation. They also proclaimed a general pardon for all treasons and rebellious practices committed at any time previous to the date of their manifesto, to such as should, within the term of forty days, already limited, withdraw from their opposition to the British government, and conduct themselves in future as faithful and loyal subjects; denouncing at the same time the utmost vengeance of the British nation against such as, after these benevolent offers, should obstinately persist in withholding their allegiance from their lawful sovereign. And, that all persons residing within the revolted colonies might be acquainted with the benevolent offers now made, and be enabled to avail themselves of the pardon proclaimed by the manifesto, thirteen copies of it were immediately executed under the hands and seals of the commissioners, one of which was transmitted by a flag of truce to each of the colonies.

In the mean time, the congress, by a preposterous kind of resolution, recommended it to the executive power in the different states to seize and detain in prison all such persons as, under pretence of a flag of truce, should be concerned in distributing or delivering the manifesto of the British commissioners, as violators of the law of nations, by circulating seditious writings; whilst at the same time they ordered those seditious writings to be published in the newspapers. And some time afterwards they passed another resolution, threatening to take exemplary vengeance if any one should attempt to put in execution the severities denounced in the manifesto of the commissioners. The commissioners remained at New York beyond the time limited by their manifesto, which expired on the eleventh of November; but as they nei-

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ther received any overtures in consequence of it, nor saw any prospect of being able to effect a reconciliation, they closed their commission, and embarked for England, after having made some regulations for the benefit of the trade of New York and Rhode Island; the only two places that remained to Great Britain in the whole extent of the revolted colonies.

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It was now at last seen, that all attempts to recover the revolted colonies by lenient means were useless; and that force alone could again subject them to the authority of the mother-country: And the rapid success of the expedition against Georgia, which we are next to relate, gave a pleasing hope that the war, if transferred to the southward, might be more successful in future, than it had been in times past. As the land-force sent on this expedition consisted only of the seventy-first regiment of two battalions, two battalions of Hessians, four battalions of North and South Carolina provincials, and a detachment of royal artillery, amounting in the whole to three thousand five hundred men, major-general Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, the colony next adjoining to Georgia on the south, had previously received orders to enter that province by land, with the force under him, and make a junction with lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and take the command of the whole. But so ably did the last of these officers form his plans of attack, and so well was he supported by the spirit and bravery of the little army which he commanded, and the cordial and zealous co-operation of commodore Parker and the naval force, that the reduction of the province was completed before general Prevost could form a junction.

The Squadron which accompanied the transports on this expedition, consisting of some of the smaller

CHAP. smaller ships of war, arrived off the island of
 XXVI. Tybee, at the mouth of the Savannah river, on
 1778. the twenty-third of December.

It seems evident that the people of South Carolina and Georgia, apprehending themselves secure against an invasion ever since the unfortunate attempt upon Charlestown, made by sir Peter Parker and sir Henry Clinton in the year 1776, were rather occupied in planning and making preparations for the conquest of East Florida, than in providing for their own defence. Between the inhabitants of East Florida and those of Georgia, a kind of predatory war had been carried on from the time when the last of these provinces joined the general confederacy; the object of which seems to have been sometimes plunder, and sometimes revenge. But during the last summer two incursions from Georgia were made from East Florida, which had a more serious aspect. The troops engaged in these incursions consisted chiefly of irregulars, most of whom had been obliged to fly from the Carolinas and Georgia, on account of their loyalty to their sovereign, and harboured all the resentment against their persecutors which can be supposed to arise from the unworthy treatment they had received. One of these bodies of men proceeded by the inlets along the sea coast, whilst the other marched through the interior parts of the country by the river Alatomaha. The first advanced as far as the town of Sunbury in Georgia, the fort of which they summoned to surrender. A colonel McIntosh commanded the garrison, and was resolved to hold out to the last extremity. To the summons of the besiegers for the surrender of the fort, he returned a defiance in this laconic answer: "Come and take it." The besiegers being either unprovided with sufficient artillery, or thinking

thinking their force inadequate to the reduction of the fort, abandoned the enterprize, and returned towards East Florida. The other corps of these irregulars penetrated through the interior country as far as the river Ogeche, about thirty miles from Savannah. Here colonel Elben, who with two hundred continental troops had been sent to oppose them, prepared to dispute their passage: And about the same time they were informed of the retreat of their companions from Sunbury. Disheartened with this intelligence, and dreading the opposition which they were to meet in the passage of the river, they suddenly decamped and began a retreat. These incursions into Georgia were followed by another into East Florida, on the side of the provincials. The troops employed in this incursion consisted of several regiments of continentals, with some militia from Georgia and South Carolina, the whole commanded by major-general Robert How. His object was the reduction of St. Augustine, with the province of East Florida: But this expedition proved not more successful than those which had been undertaken against Georgia; and to the misfortune of the peaceable inhabitants on both sides, general How's retreat from East Florida, like that of the British irregulars from Georgia, was marked with rapine, plunder, and general devastation. From this unsuccessful expedition general How had just returned, and lay with his army encamped in the neighbourhood of Savannah, at the time of the arrival of the British Squadron from New York.

On the day after its arrival, part of the British fleet got over the bar, and entered the river; but the rest, in consequence of southerly currents and boisterous weather, were unable to follow until the twenty-seventh. In the mean time a company of light infantry was landed on Wilmington Island,

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to bring off some of the inhabitants, and was fortunate enough to secure two of them; from whom information was received of the state of the province, and the position of the military force appointed for its defence. This was of such a nature as determined the commanders of this expedition, although no intelligence had yet been received of the approach of general Prevost, to lose no time in commencing their operations.

Savannah, the capital of Georgia, lies on the south side of the river of that name, about fifteen miles from the sea. In the vicinity of this place, major-general Robert How, with a force consisting of some regiments of American regular troops, and the militia of the province, in the whole about fifteen hundred men, was encamped for its protection, and daily expected to be joined by a considerable reinforcement. The country between Savannah and the sea being low and marshy, and intersected by creeks and cuts of water, the first practicable landing-place was at the plantation of one Gerridoe, about twelve miles up the river; and there a descent was proposed to be made without delay.

In pursuance of this determination, the fleet on the twenty-eighth of December, in the morning, proceeded up the river, led by the Vigilant ship of war, the Comet galley, the Keppel armed brig, and the Greenwich armed sloop, with the design of landing the troops at Gerridoe's plantation that evening; but several of the transports having got aground from the difficulty of the navigation, the descent was necessarily postponed till the following morning. With the rising of the tide, the transports being floated off, moved up to their station, and at day-break of the twenty-ninth the debarkation began. From the landing-place, a narrow causeway with a ditch on each side led through

through a rice swamp to the high plantation ground, at the distance of six hundred yards; and captain Cameron, of the seventy-first regiment, having first reached the shore with his company of light-infantry, immediately formed them, and advanced along the causeway, at the end of which, and upon the high ground, was posted a body of provincials. These, as captain Cameron approached, received him with a general discharge of musketry; by which this brave officer and two of his company were killed, and five wounded; but the impetuosity natural to the highlanders prevented the provincials from repeating it. Rushing on to revenge the death of their beloved commander, they struck terror into the provincials, who quitted their advantageous ground, and fled to the woods. Whilst the rest of the troops were landing, lieutenant-colonel Campbell reconnoitred the position of general How's army, and determined to attack him before the evening. The British troops were accordingly put in motion, even before the last division of them was landed, and having advanced within half a mile of the enemy were formed in order of battle. The provincial general had drawn up his forces across the main road leading to Savannah, and about half a mile from it. His right was covered by a thick woody swamp, and the houses of a plantation filled with rifle-men; his left reached to the rice swamps upon the river, and the town and fort of Savannah covered his rear. One piece of cannon was posted upon the right, another on the left, and two upon the great road in the centre; in front of which, at the distance of one hundred yards, where the high ground was narrowed by the approach of two swamps, a trench was cut across the main road reaching from one swamp to the other; and about one hundred yards still farther

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ther in front, was a marshy rivulet running parallel to the whole extent of the provincial line. The bridge over this rivulet had been burnt down, in order to retard the progress of the British army. Here the provincial general waited the approach of the British troops: And, had the attack been made only in front, perhaps the ground might have been obstinately disputed. But the British commander having received information of a private path leading through the swamp which covered the enemy's right flank, detached the light-infantry, under sir James Baird, supported by the New York volunteers, to proceed by that path and gain the enemy's rear: And as it appeared by some movements of the enemy that they wished and expected an attack upon their left, lieutenant-colonel Campbell, in order to induce a belief that this was intended, ordered the light infantry, and New York volunteers, to file off by the right, as if the design had been to extend the front of the British line that way, until they reached a fall of the ground, by retiring within which to the rear, their subsequent movements in their progress to the swamp were effectually concealed from the view of the enemy. By this manœuvre the attention of the enemy was drawn from that quarter where danger was to be most apprehended; and sir James Baird, under the guidance of a negro, having safely conducted his detachment by the private path to the rear of the enemy, suddenly issued from the swamp, and attacked a body of militia, which was posted to secure the great road leading from Ogeeche. Hitherto the British troops in front had remained quiet upon their ground, without firing a gun in return for the provincial artillery; but as soon as it was perceptible that the light infantry had turned the flank of the enemy, the whole British line received

received orders to advance and move on briskly ; and the artillery, which had been previously formed behind a swell in the ground, to conceal it from view, was instantly run forward to the eminence, and began to play upon the enemy. Thus assailed, the provincials quickly gave way, and running across a plain in front of sir James Baird's light-infantry, which had by this time dispersed the militia and taken their cannon, were again attacked by them ; who, with their usual promptitude, dashing upon the flanks of the fugitives, completed their rout, and added to the brilliant success of the day. The provincials flying in confusion through the town of Savannah, were closely pursued by the British troops ; and before night thirty-eight commissioned officers, and four hundred and fifteen men of the enemy, the town and fort of Savannah, with the artillery, ammunition and stores, consisting of a large quantity of indigo, rice, sugar, rum, &c. the shipping in the harbour, and a great quantity of provisions, were in the possession of the conquerors, whose loss, during the whole of this day, amounted only to seven killed, and nineteen wounded*.

So decisive a victory, gained at so inconsiderable an expence, rarely occurs, and must be attributed partly to the inexperience of the American gene-

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* Artillery, Stores, Ammunition, Shipping &c. taken at the Reduction of Savannah, in the year 1778.

48 pieces of cannon.	1 stand of colours.
23 mortars.	817 small arms.
94 barrels of gunpowder.	78 bag ditto.
1545 cannon shot.	32 cartridges filled for 4-pdrs.
104 case ditto.	200 shells.
9 tons lead pigtail, and a considerable quantity of flints, nails, spikes, &c.	
3 large ships, 3 brigantines, 2 sloops, and 2 schooners, some of them with cargoes on board, taken ; and 2 sloops burnt.	

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ral, but principally to the superior military skill and address of the British commander in improving to the utmost every favourable circumstance which presented itself for the final success of the day, added to the zeal, vigour, promptitude, and exactness with which his orders were obeyed by the brave little army which he commanded

By the unremitting exertions of lieutenant-colonel Campbell, aided by the zeal and activity of all who bore a share in this expedition, the remains of the provincial army were driven across the Savannah river into South Carolina, the different posts upon that river were secured for fifty miles up, and the lower parts of the province were entirely at peace in less than ten days after the defeat of the American army at Savannah. A great majority of the inhabitants came in, and having taken the oath of allegiance, submitted themselves again to the authority of the mother country. Rifle companies of dragoons were formed out of those who came in to renew their allegiance, whose duty it was to patrol the country between the advanced posts, and give information of the incursions of the enemy; and various other wise and prudent regulations were adopted for the future peace and security of the province.

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War between the Americans and Indians—War between France and England—Channel Fleet commanded by Admiral Keppel—Engagement between the French and English Fleets—Irreconcilable Difference between the Admirals Keppel and Palliser—Inflamed by the Zeal of their respective Partizans—War in the East Indies.

SUCH were the principal events on the sea-coast of the revolted colonies during the campaign of the year 1778: On their western frontiers a desultory war was still carried on between them and the Indians, in the mode originally peculiar to these savages, but now too generally practised by their better informed neighbours the white inhabitants bordering on their settlements. Mutual incursions were made, and ruin and devastation followed on the steps of the ruthless invaders. Whole families were butchered, their houses burnt, the growing corn cut up, and entire plantations laid waste. In this barbarous warfare the flourishing new settlement of Wyoming, on the banks of the Susquehanna, fell a sacrifice to an incursion of the Indians: And the Indian settlements of Unadilla and Anaquago, upon the upper parts of the same river, which were also inhabited by white people attached to the royal cause, were in their turn ravaged and destroyed by the Americans.

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War between the Americans and Indians.

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War be-
tween
France and
England

But we must now for a time quit the continent of North America, to pursue the course of the war through the various quarters to which it was transferred by the hostile intervention of the French.

After the rescript had been delivered which announced to the court of London the connexion and alliance formed between the king of France and the congress of the revolted colonies; and after the British ambassador at Paris, and the French ambassador at London, had severally quitted the places of their residence, and returned to their respective courts, without the formality of taking leave, which, according to an etiquette long established, is universally considered as a prelude to hostilities; both nations began to make the most assiduous preparations for open war. From Toulon, as we have already seen, a fleet of twelve ships of the line was sent to sea under the command of the count d'Estaing; but the principal naval arsenal of the French is at Brest, and there every hand was employed, and every sinew stretched, to get ready such a fleet as might enable them to meet their opponents with advantage upon their own element. That they might the more effectually distract the attention of the British ministry, the stale device of threatening an invasion was again resorted to; and large bodies of troops were marched from the interior parts of the kingdom to the sea-coast bordering on the British channel.

In Great Britain the people had been a good deal divided on the subject of the American war, and from a knowledge of this circumstance the ministry were probably deterred from acting with that decision which alone could have promised success. Had no foreign power interfered, perhaps the war might have gradually languished un-
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til such terms had been offered as would have been accepted by the Americans, whose resources, without foreign aid, must soon have failed. But the intervention of the French, in a domestic dispute between a sovereign and a part of his subjects, after the assurances which had been given to the contrary, was considered not only as an act of the basest treachery, but as a proof of enmity and hatred against the British nation inveterately malignant; and to punish this perfidious interference every heart was united, and every hand uplifted. If any abatement is to be made from these unqualified assertions, it must be in favour of some of the leaders of the opposition, or their immediate adherents, who were so much wedded to the cause of America, that they not only deprecated the idea of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, but even rejoiced in their victories*. But certain it is, that after the alliance entered into by the people of the revolted colonies with the court of France, they lost the favour and good opinion of all those moderate men in the British dominions who had formerly espoused their cause, from principle, whilst they considered them as injured and innocent. But after the Americans had made themselves guilty, if they were not so before, by leaguings with the enemies of their country, the people of Great Britain became more united in the prosecution of the war: Their resentment was kindled; the national spirit was roused with the prospect of the impending difficulties; the ministry recovered from their despondence; and warlike preparations were made with a spirit and efficacy which our

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* See Parliamentary Debates for a late altercation between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, respecting the French revolution.

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enemies little expected. To guard against the possibility of an invasion, the militia were called forth and embodied; and although the French, by being the aggressors, had it in their power to adapt their open interference to the state of their preparations, yet such was the vigour of our exertions, that a British fleet of twenty ships of the line was cruising in the channel before the grand fleet of France was in readiness to come out of the harbour of Brest.

The British
fleet in the
channel,
command-
ed by ad-
miral Kep-
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Admiral Keppel had been fixed upon to command the channel fleet, as being a brave and experienced officer, who was highly popular, and much beloved in the navy; and as he was attached to the opposition, it was hoped that his appointment, if it did not entirely reconcile the leaders of that party to the measures which were in agitation, would at least silence much of their clamour. In the Victory, of a hundred guns, he sailed from Portsmouth on the twelfth of June; and during his cruise hostilities were formally commenced between Great Britain and France.

Whilst the fleet was at sea, on the seventeenth, two strange ships being seen reconnoitring, orders were given to chase, and conduct them under the stern of the admiral's ship. One of them, the *Licorne*, a French frigate, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and thirty men, being overtaken towards the evening by several ships of the fleet, consented to sail with them during the night, but in the morning discovering an intention of going off, by attempting to get upon a different tack, a shot was fired across her, when in an instant she poured a whole broadside of her great guns and musketry into the *America*, a British line-of-battle ship which happened to be nearest to her, and immediately struck her colours. Strange as this proceeding

proceeding was, it was rendered still more extraordinary by the following circumstance that attended it : For at the very instant when the French frigate fired her cannon and musketry, lord Longford, the commander of the *America*, was standing upon the gunwale of his own ship, in friendly conversation with the French commander. A broadside from the *America*, which at so near a distance would have probably sunk the French frigate to the bottom, would have been a just retribution for so useless and audacious a bravado ; but the noble commander wisely restrained his resentment, and satisfied himself with sending the *Licorne* under the stern of the *Victory*. The other ship, which proved to be the *Belle Poule*, a large French frigate, carrying heavy cannon, and commanded by the *sieur de la Clocheterie*, was also overtaken in the evening, but at a considerable distance from the rest of the fleet, by the British frigate the *Arethusa*, of thirty-two guns, commanded by captain Marshall, who communicated to the French commander the admiral's request to speak with him, and his orders for conducting him into the fleet. With these orders the French commander repeatedly and peremptorily refused to comply. A shot from the *Arethusa* was then fired across the French frigate, which was returned with a broadside from the latter, when a furious and bloody engagement began, which was obstinately and resolutely maintained on both sides for more than two hours. It was almost a calm, and as the two frigates were near to each other, the damage done to both was very considerable ; but the *Arethusa* had suffered so much in her masts, sails, and rigging, that at last, from the scantiness of the wind, she became quite unmanageable, and floated upon the water like a wreck. Whilst the British frigate remained in
this

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this ungovernable state, the French commander set his forefail, and with the help of a light breeze which sprung up, made for the French coast, and anchored in a bay amongst the rocks; from which situation his ship was towed out of danger the following morning by boats from the shore. If the comparative damage in the masts, sails, and rigging, was greatest on board the *Arethusa*, it was overbalanced by the greater loss of men on board the *Belle Poule*. According to the French accounts the number of killed on board the *Belle Poule* was estimated at forty-eight, and the wounded at fifty-seven; whereas the *Arethusa* had only eight men killed and thirty-six wounded. On the following morning another French frigate, the *Pallas*, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and twenty men, which was also discovered reconnoitring, was conducted into the fleet, and in consequence of the hostile procedure of the commanders of the *Belle Poule* and the *Licorne* was with the last of these ships sent into Plymouth.

The seizure and detention of these ships furnished the French with a pretence for charging the British nation with being the aggressors in the war: But when two nations are in such a state of enmity, that hostilities must necessarily ensue between them, it seems to be a matter of little consequence by which of them the war is begun; and on the present occasion the first deliberate act of hostility had been indisputably committed long ago by the court of France, in leaguings with the rebellious subjects of the crown of Great Britain, which would have justified instant vengeance on the part of the latter. But on this point the British ministry seem to have been peculiarly delicate; for although admiral Keppel seized and detained two of the French king's frigates, for improper conduct in one of their commanders, he suffered

suffered the peaceful merchantmen to pass through his fleet unmolested; nor were letters of reprisal issued in Great Britain until some time after they had been issued by the court of France.

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By the seizure of these frigates, admiral Keppel obtained such information of the strength of the French fleet sitting out at Brest, as determined him to return into port and wait for a reinforcement. The fleet accordingly came to an anchor at St. Helen's on the twenty-seventh of June.—Thither the first lord of the admiralty immediately repaired, to concert measures for reinforcing the fleet; and with such expedition were these measures executed, that the admiral was again at sea by the middle of July, with an addition to his fleet of ten ships of the line. It now consisted of thirty ships of the line, one of them of the first rate, six of them of ninety guns, and the remainder of the third rate, which were formed into three divisions, the centre commanded by the admiral himself, and the other two divisions by vice-admirals sir Robert Harland and sir Hugh Palliser.

By this time the French fleet, under the command of the count d'Orvilliers, was also at sea, having left the harbour of Brest on the eighth of July; and no sooner had it sailed than general letters of reprisal against the king of Great Britain and his subjects, grounded on the capture of the Pallas and Licorne, were issued by the court of France. The two fleets being thus at sea, in the summer season, it could not be long before they met. On the twenty-third of July, in the afternoon, they came in sight of each other, when the British fleet happened to be much dispersed. A signal for forming the line was immediately thrown out; but night came on by the time the ships were able to get into their proper stations; and

Engage-
ment be-
tween the
French and
English
fleets.

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and before the morning the French fleet had obtained the weather-gage. For four days successively did the British admiral, by chasing to windward, endeavour to bring the French fleet to an engagement; but his leeward situation rendered all his endeavours fruitless. Although the fleet of the count d'Orvilliers outnumbered that of admiral Keppel by two ships of the line, and a much greater proportion of frigates, he nevertheless carefully kept the advantage of the wind, and with equal caution avoided an engagement. But on the morning of the twenty-seventh, whilst the British fleet still chased to windward, endeavouring to profit by a slight variation in its favour, a sudden squall came on, at the very instant in which the French fleet was in the act of performing an evolution, and so very thick, that during its continuance, the two fleets were concealed from the view of each other. When the weather cleared up at the end of half an hour, it was perceived that the French fleet during the squall had fallen to leeward, and was now so near the leading ships in the van of the British fleet, commanded by sir Robert Harland, as to begin to cannonade them. At this instant the signal for battle was thrown out by the British admiral; and an engagement began between the two fleets as they passed on contrary tacks, and in opposite directions, which lasted about two hours. When the fleets had passed each other, and the firing had ceased, the British admiral wore his ship to return upon the enemy, and threw out a signal for the rest of his fleet to follow his example, and form the line; but at this moment, observing that some of his ships, disabled in the engagement, had fallen to leeward, and were in danger of being cut off by the enemy, he was in the first place obliged to take measures for their safety.

By

By the manœuvres necessary for this purpose, and by the length of time required for repairing the damages sustained by the ships of the rear division, under sir Hugh Palliser, which had come last out of the engagement, before they could be again brought into their stations in the line, the day was so far spent, that the battle could not be renewed that evening. In the mean time, the count d'Orvilliers ranged his fleet in order of battle to leeward, and put on every appearance as if he meant to wait the attack of the British admiral in the morning; but in the night he quitted his station, and steered for the coast of France, leaving three of his frigates to shew lights at proper intervals, corresponding to the leading ships of the three divisions of his fleet, thereby to conceal his flight from the British admiral. In the morning the French fleet was at such a distance as scarcely to be discernible. A signal was made for chasing the frigates, but it was found impracticable to overtake them; and the fleet to which they belonged being still at a greater distance, with the wind favourable for carrying it into port, a pursuit was deemed useless. The British admiral returned to Plymouth to repair the damage done to his fleet, and to land the wounded men; and the count d'Orvilliers, after the action, made the best of his way to the harbour of Brest, for a similar purpose. The loss of men on board the British fleet in this day's engagement amounted to one hundred and thirty-three killed, and three hundred and seventy-three wounded: What the loss on the side of the French was, does not appear ever to have been made public; but it is highly probable that it was much greater, not only as a French ship carries a greater number of men than a British ship of equal force, but as the British seamen point their guns at the hull, whilst the French

CHAP. French seamen principally aim at the sails and
XXVII. rigging.

17-8. One very unfortunate consequence which fol-
Irreconcil- lowed from this engagement, was, an irreconcil-
able differ- able difference which it occasioned between the
ence be- naval commander in chief and sir Hugh Palliser,
tween the one of his vice-admirals, who commanded the
admirals rear division of the fleet on the day of the engage-
Keppel and ment: A difference which, inflamed by the indis-
Palliser, creet zeal of the partisans on both sides, rose to
such a height, as had nearly created a fatal dissen-
sion in the naval service. At last both the admiral-
s were in their turn tried by a court-martial for
their conduct in this day's engagement, and both
were acquitted; the acquittal of the commander
in chief being attended with circumstances par-
ticularly honourable. He was not only fully and
honourably acquitted, but the charges against
him were by the sentence of the court-martial
pronounced to be malicious. When the news of
his acquittal reached London, very general illumina-
tions, instigated by his political partisans, took
place for two successive nights; and the thanks of
both houses of parliament were voted to him for
his conduct. One member only, Mr. Sturt, had
the firmness (for many it was believed had the
inclination), when the question was put for thanks
to admiral Keppel, to say, in a very audible and
impressive tone of voice, No. But after all these
testimonies, so honourable to the naval comman-
der in chief, so violently had this dispute been
agitated in the daily publications, and so confi-
dently did the partisans on each side charge
the other with criminal misconduct or neglect
that an opinion seems to have become root-
ed, and still in a great measure prevails, not-
withstanding the acquittal of both the admirals,
that

that so much was not done on the twenty-seventh of July as might have been done.

One happy circumstance attending admiral Keppel's engagement, was, that it took place at a critical time, when several British fleets of homeward-bound merchantmen were expected in the channel: And as, after the engagement, the count d'Orvilliers was obliged to return into Brest to refit, it fortunately happened, that during this interval these fleets arrived in safety.

Both the French and British fleets put to sea as soon as their damage was repaired; but they did not again meet during the present year. By their reciprocal operations the trade of both countries suffered a little; but the balance of captures at the end of the year was considerably in favour of Great Britain.

Whilst the French, with almost equal success, War in the East Indies, thus disputed the empire of the sea in Europe, they had nearly lost all their possessions in the East. When a rupture was seen to be inevitable, so expeditiously had the English East India company transmitted their orders, and with so much promptitude were these orders executed, that the war broke out in India almost as soon as in Europe. Chandernagore and all the factories belonging to the French in Bengal, at Yanaon, and Karical, with their settlement at Massulipatam, were wrested from them during the summer; and, in the month of October, the town and fortrefs of Pondicherry, the capital of the French possessions, and the seat of their government in India, with an immense train of artillery, and a garrison of three thousand men, nine hundred of which were Europeans, after being invested for two months and ten days by an army under major-general Hector Munro by land, and by a squadron of ships of war under commodore sir Edward Vernon

CHAP. XXVII. 1778. Vernon by sea, was surrendered by capitulation.* And thus in less than four months from the commencement of hostilities, the French power in Bengal, and on the coast of Coromandel, was entirely annihilated.

But in the western hemisphere, to which we must now again return, the success of these two great contending powers, in their alternate endeavours to wrest from each other their foreign possessions, was much more equally balanced.

and in the
West,

The French having been permitted by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, to share in the Newfoundland fishery, which is justly esteemed a most beneficial source of commerce; and being, by the same treaty, allowed during the fishing season the temporary use of the two small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, for the purpose of curing their fish, and preparing them for market; it was therefore thought to be an object of some importance to deprive them of these advantages so soon as it was apparent that they no longer held themselves bound by the treaty through which such privileges had been secured to them. No sooner, therefore, had vice-admiral Montague, who commanded on the Newfoundland station, received advices of the hostile operations of the count d'Estaing on the coast of America, than he, in pursuance of orders previously transmitted to him from England, dispatched commodore Evans in the Rom-

* Artillery, Arms, Ammunition, and Stores, taken at Pondicherry, in the East Indies.

210 pieces of iron ordnance	60 wall pieces
58 pieces of brass ditto	45 carbines
6 howitzers	556 pistols
20 brass mortars	930 swords
2 iron ditto	80 barrels gunpowder
6182 muskets	21708 shot of different sizes.
168 rifle barrel pieces	

ney,

ney, with a squadron of ships of war, having on board a party of artillery and two hundred marines, under the command of major Wemys, with orders to dispossess the French of these two islands, and destroy their temporary settlements. This service was performed without any difficulty. The squadron appeared in the road of St. Pierre on the fourteenth of September; and the French governor, being totally unprovided with the means of defence against such a force, surrendered upon the first summons. The arms of the inhabitants, their fishing vessels, and furniture, with a considerable quantity of oil, fish, and salt, were delivered up to the captors*; and the inhabitants themselves, amounting to something more than two thousand men, were shipped off for France. Every thing valuable, which could not be removed, was destroyed; and the French settlements on these islands were entirely laid waste.

In the same month, and almost with the same ease, the marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinique, the principal of the French windward islands in the West Indies, made himself master of the British island of Dominica. The contiguous situation of these two islands, and the defenceless state of the latter, rendered this an enterprise of little difficulty. In the evening of the sixth of September, two thousand men were embarked on board transports at Martinique, and

* Arms, Ammunition, Vessels, Fish, &c. taken at St. Pierre and Miquelon, in Newfoundland.

173 muskets, with bayonets and cartouch-boxes	165 shallops without decks 82 canoes
83 swords	16235 quintals of fish
106 belts	201 hogsheds of oil
10 shallops with shifting decks	244 ditto of salt.
22 ditto with fixed ditto	

with

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with these, escorted by four frigates and ten smaller armed vessels, the marquis de Bouillé, early in the morning of the seventh, appeared off the south end of Dominica. A detachment was immediately landed to attack fort Cachacrou, situated upon a point of land jutting out into the sea, round which the fleet must pass to reach Roseau, the capital of the island; and from the weakness of the garrison, of which the marquis de Bouillé had been previously apprized, this fort became an easy conquest. The garrison was soon overpowered; and the fleet passed round the point unmolested. A general debarkation now took place at Point Michel; and as soon as a landing was effected, the French troops marched on towards Roseau. The battery of Loubiere lay in their way, but it was evacuated as they approached, after the garrison had expended all their ammunition. The regular troops in the island consisted only of a party of the royal artillery, and a detachment from the forty-eighth regiment. These, with all the militia which could be got together, did not amount to five hundred men; and it was soon perceived that their resistance against a force so superiour, could not long avail. Detachments of the French were already in possession of the heights behind Roseau; their main body approached the town from the place of their debarkation: The frigates were advancing to batter the forts; and preparations were making for an assault. In this critical juncture, a deputation from the council and principal inhabitants of the island requested the governor to call a council of war: Their request being complied with, and the opinion of the council of war being in favour of a capitulation, an offer for that purpose was made by the governor, which was immediately accepted by the marquis de Bouillé; and such liberal terms

of

of capitulation were granted as secured the inhabitants in the enjoyment of their property, and of all the rights, privileges, and immunities which they held under the British government, with the further advantage of exporting their produce to whatever part of the world they thought fit, upon the payment of such duties as the inhabitants of the French islands had been accustomed to pay in the islands or in Europe. The inhabitants were even allowed to retain their arms, upon condition of not serving against France during the war. The garrison of regular troops, after marching out with all the honours of war, and depositing their arms, were to be transported to Great Britain under the condition of not serving against the king of France until they were exchanged. And as a particular mark of respect for governor Stuart, he was to be at liberty to go where he pleased, and to continue in the service of his prince without restraint. So hastily was this business settled, that the capitulation for the surrender of the whole island was signed, and the French put in possession of Fort Young before night. The marquis de Bouillé having thus made himself master of Dominica, returned without delay to Martinique, leaving fifteen hundred of his troops to garrison the island. His return was probably hastened by the risk which he incurred of being intercepted by admiral Barrington, who was then at Barbadoes, with a fleet of two ships of the line and several frigates; and the same cause may account for the facility with which he granted in the terms of capitulation almost every thing which was asked.

This sudden and successful attack created an universal alarm in all the English West India islands. But the French force at Martinique was still insufficient for any distant operation; and
fortunately

CHAP. fortunately before the arrival of the count d'Estaing
 XXVII. in the West India seas, the reinforcement of ships
 and troops which, we have seen, sailed from New
 1778. York on the third of November, had reached
 Barbadoes, and joined admiral Barrington, who
 had been waiting there for some time in expecta-
 tion of that junction.

The troops under general Grant being designed
 for immediate offensive operations, were not dis-
 embarked: And on the twelfth of December,
 only two days after their arrival, admiral Barring-
 ton, with the whole fleet, left Barbadoes, and
 sailed for the French island of St. Lucie, where
 he arrived the following day. The island of St.
 Lucie, on the west side, is indented by three great
 bays, separated from each other by narrow ridges
 of high and strong ground jutting out into the
 ocean. The most northerly of these is called the
 Bay of Du Choque; that in the middle, the
 Carenage Bay, at the head of which stands Morne
 Fortune, the capital town of the island, and the
 seat of the government; and the most southerly
 of these bays is called the Grand Cul de Sac. It
 was this last bay which the British fleet entered
 on the thirteenth of December. Brigadier-
 general, now sir William Meadows, with the fifth
 regiment, and the grenadiers and light-infantry of
 the army, which composed the reserve, being
 forthwith landed, forced the heights on the north
 side of the bay, occupied by the chevalier de
 Mecond, the governor, with the regular force
 which he had under him, and the militia of the
 island, and took possession of a battery of four
 guns which annoyed the fleet as it entered the
 bay: And in the mean time brigadier-general
 Prescott was landed with five regiments, to secure
 the other posts round the bay, and to preserve a
 communication with the reserve. On the follow-
 ing

ing morning, the whole of the troops being disembarked, and brigadier-general sir Henry Calder, with four battalions, being left to guard the landing-place, to preserve a communication with the fleet, and to occupy the different passes in the mountains on the south side of the bay, the reserve, under general Meadows, supported by general Prescott's brigade, advanced towards the head of the Carenage, and without meeting with any material obstruction, took possession of the town of Morne Fortune, with the government house, hospital, barracks, and all the stores and magazines belonging to the island; the governor having been obliged to retire from post to post as the British troops advanced. From Morne Fortune brigadier-general Meadows proceeded on to the important post called the Virgie, which commands the north side of the Carenage harbour, and before the evening was in possession of all the different batteries and posts upon the neck of land which separates the bay of the Carenage from that of Du Choque. Scarcely had this been accomplished, when the count d'Estaing's fleet appeared in full view. That commander, upon his arrival at Martinique, had been joined by a fleet of transports, with nine thousand troops on board, and with these and his superior fleet he was elated with the hope of crushing the small naval force under admiral Barrington, and reducing most of the windward British islands before admiral Byron could come to their assistance. With hopes thus sanguine, he sailed from Martinique; Barbadoes, St. Vincent's, Grenada, Tobago, were all in their turn threatened with subjection to his irresistible force. But the unexpected attack upon St. Lucie, information of which was conveyed to him by a vessel which escaped from the island, and met him at sea, disarranged all his schemes, and for the

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present obliged him to give up his visionary plans of conquest. The relief of that island was first to be provided for; and with his superiority of force he did not doubt of being able to accomplish it. Thither, therefore, he directed his course, and appeared in sight, as we have already mentioned, almost immediately after the British troops had completed the circuit of the Carenage, and secured the high grounds which command it on the north side. He was yet unapprized of the extent of their progress; and on the following morning steered with his whole fleet for the bay of the Carenage, supposing it not to be possessed by the British troops; but a battery which opened upon his fleet as it entered the bay, and struck his own ship the *Languedoc*, soon convinced him of his mistake, and obliged him, after returning this salutation with a broadside, to stand out to sea.

The count d'Estaing, being thus disappointed in his attempt upon the Carenage, after discovering by his movements some degree of embarrassment and hesitation, directed his course towards the Grand Cul de Sac, where admiral Barrington, in expectation of an attack, had already made a disposition for repelling it. Never, perhaps, was a greater stake committed to the defence of a force in appearance so inadequate.—Admiral Barrington, with only three ships of the line, as many ships of fifty guns, and the remaining part of his force consisting of frigates, was not only to defend himself against twelve ships of the line, with a numerous train of frigates and American armed ships and privateers, but also to protect a large fleet of transports, having on board the provisions, ammunition, stores, and baggage of the army, which there had not yet been time to land; and thus the fate of the army on shore became implicated in that of the fleet.

Yet

Yet such was the confidence of the officers of the fleet in each other, but above all, in the naval ability and experience of their and firm undaunted commander, that never was a defence undertaken with more alacrity, or greater hopes of success; nor did the event disappoint their most sanguine expectations: During the night, and in the morning, the transports being warped into the bay, and the ships of war stationed without them, in a line across the entrance, so just a disposition of his very inferior force did the British admiral make, that the count d'Estaing was repulsed with loss in two different attacks which he made during the day; the first with ten of his largest ships, and the last with his whole force. The loss sustained by the British fleet in these attacks, consisted only of two men killed and eight wounded. One solitary trophy fell into the enemy's hands, a single transport, loaded with the baggage of some officers of the army, which there had not been time to warp within the line of ships of war. The count d'Estaing being thus completely foiled in his naval operations, both at the Carenage and the Grand Cul de Sac, determined to disembark his troops, and try the effect of an attack upon general Grant by land; and on the following morning, after being joined by a frigate, which was seen standing into his fleet, with a number of signals flying, he plied to windward beyond the Carenage Bay, and came to an anchor off Gros Islet. In the night, and during the following day, his troops were landed from the transports, which had anchored in the bay of Du Choque; and as the possession of the post of the Vergie would have enabled his fleet to enter the Carenage with safety, an attack upon that post was the first military operation that he projected. Two days before, the safety of the British army depended

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upon the successful resistance of the fleet; and now the safety of the fleet was in its turn to depend upon the exertions of the army: For should the count d'Estaing succeed against general Grant by land, admiral Barrington could not long withstand a combined attack from his superior fleet by sea, and his batteries on shore. The high grounds of the Vergie were occupied by brigadier general Meadows, with the reserve of the army; and he prepared to defend them with a resolution suitable to their importance, and the high expectations formed from his known gallantry, and the bravery of the select corps which he commanded. Every thing being in readiness for the assault, the French on the eighteenth of December advanced in three columns, led by the count d'Estaing, the marquis de Bouillé, and the count Louendahl. Thrice did they rush on to the attack, and as often were they repulsed. In the emphatic language of general Grant, "their two first attacks were made with
 " the impetuosity of Frenchmen; and they were
 " repulsed with the determined bravery of Britons." In the third attack they were soon broke and fled in confusion. General Meadows, altho' wounded early in the day, would not quit the field; but on horseback visited every quarter where his presence was necessary, and continued to give his orders, notwithstanding the anguish of his wound, until the triumph of the day was completed, in the final rout and discomfiture of the French. In the different actions of this day, the French artillery which had been taken upon the island was turned against themselves, and did fatal execution. Four hundred were left dead on the field; and, according to their own accounts, their wounded were nearly three times that number. The magnitude of their loss, exceeding in number the whole of the British troops which
 were

were engaged, evinces the desperation and perseverance with which the French made and supported their attacks, and places far beyond the reach of praise the masterly disposition formed by general Meadows for the defence of his post, and the bravery and firmness of the troops to whom that defence was entrusted. The whole loss of the British troops amounted to one hundred and seventy-one : Of these thirteen only were killed, one hundred and fifty wounded, and eight missing. After this severe defeat, the count d'Estaing remained inactive until the twenty-eighth of December, in the night of which he re-imbarked his troops, and on the following morning sailed with his whole fleet to Martinique. Whilst the French fleet was yet in sight, the chevalier de Micond offered to capitulate for the surrender of the island ; and although he was now destitute of all hope of relief, and entirely at the mercy of the British commanders, who might have insisted on a surrender at discretion, such liberal terms were granted as his deserted and desperate situation gave him little reason to expect. The governor and his garrison were allowed to march out of their posts with the honours of war, and to retain their baggage ; and having delivered up their arms, were to be transported to Martinique, as prisoners of war, not to serve in any military capacity until exchanged. The inhabitants, on delivering up their arms and taking the oath of allegiance to the king of Great Britain, were to be secured in the possession of their habitations and property, and in the exercise of their religion, according to the established laws of the colony, and to be entitled to the same protection as British subjects, and not to be obliged to bear arms against the troops of the king of France. These terms being granted, all stores of ammunition and provisions, and every thing

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thing in general belonging to the king of France, were to be faithfully accounted for, and delivered up to the British commissioners*.

On the sixth of January 1779, admiral Byron's fleet, which had been so long expected, arrived at St. Lucie, just eight days after the departure of the count d'Estaing; and had it not been detained in the harbour of Newport, at Rhode Island, by contrary winds and stormy weather for fourteen days after it was ready to sail, it is probable, either that the retreat of the count d'Estaing to Martinique would have been cut off, or that a general engagement must have been risked in order to effect it. But all the proceedings of admiral Byron had hitherto been marred by the opposition of the elements; and even in his present passage from Rhode Island, the *Fame*, one of his ships, was dismasted.

By his arrival the British naval force in the West Indies, became equal, if not superior, to that under count d'Estaing, who was henceforward obliged to act upon the defensive, and shelter his fleet within the bay of Fort Royal. So apprehensive did he appear to be of the effects of a general engagement, that for six months together he only ventured twice to put to sea; and both times hastily returned as soon as the British fleet was seen standing towards him. The islands of Martinique and St. Lucie are so near to each other, that the French fleet could scarcely come

* Ordnance, Ammunition, Stores, &c. taken at St. Lucie in December 1778.

59 pieces of ordnance of different sizes	200 whole barr. corned powder
5766 round shot	333 muskets
407 langridge ditto	18,100 musket cartridges filled with ball, 2 cwt. 2 qrs. musket ball.
2899 cartridges for ordnance	

out

out of Fort Royal Bay without being seen from St. Lucie; and some small fast-sailing vessels were also appointed to watch its motions. Frequent squadrons were sent to cruise off the mouth of Fort Royal harbour, and if possible, provoke the count d'Estaing to come out and risk an engagement; but no mortification of this sort could induce him to deviate from his defensive plan. Both fleets were reinforced during the winter; that of admiral Byron by a squadron of ships from England under commodore Rowley, who had under his convoy a fleet of merchantmen for the West India islands; and that of count d'Estaing by a squadron from France, under the command of the count de Grasse: But notwithstanding this reinforcement, the count d'Estaing still remained in the harbour of Fort Royal.

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When the season arrived for the departure of the West India fleet of merchant-ships for England, admiral Byron was obliged to quit his station, and put to sea, for the purpose of enabling the ships from the different islands to assemble with safety at St. Christopher's, which was appointed to be the place of general rendezvous. Thither, therefore, he directed his course, having left St. Lucie on the sixth of June. The departure of the British fleet for the protection of the homeward bound trade, was the signal for the French to commence their operations. A force, consisting of four hundred and fifty men, under the command of the chevalier de Trolong du Romain, was embarked at Martinique, on board of four vessels, and sailed for the island of St. Vincent's, where they arrived on the twelfth of June. A landing was immediately effected, and a communication opened with the Caribs, the original inhabitants of the island, who yet retained the possession of some part of it. Between them and the
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British settlers a war had broke out some few years before, which, after much bloodshed on both sides, terminated in the subjugation of the former. But the Caribs, compelled to submit, were not reconciled : They still retained their ancient resentment. They considered the British settlers as unjust intruders upon their possessions, and were ready to join the French as soon as they landed. The garrison of the island consisted of seven companies of the sixtieth regiment, amounting to four hundred and sixty-four men, rank and file, besides officers, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Etherington, as appears by a return of it made on the first day of April in the present year ; but of these only three hundred and fifty-seven were actually effective, the rest being confined with sickness either in the barracks or hospital. The French, joined by the Caribs, advanced against Kingston, the capital of the island, without meeting with any opposition. On the sixteenth of June they took possession of the heights behind the town ; and on the same day, without a musket having been fired, the whole island was surrendered by Valentine Morris, esquire, the governor, with the consent of the commander of the garrison, on terms similar to those which had been granted by the marquis de Bouillé to the inhabitants and garrison of Dominica. The easy conquest of St. Vincent's seems to have been the cause of much surprise to general Grant, who commanded at St. Lucie : But although no satisfactory reason has been yet given to the public, for this tame submission on the part of the civil governor, and the commander of the king's troops in St. Vincent's, unless the dread of the Caribs, whose ferocity during the former war was still remembered, can be admitted to be such ; it is nevertheless presumable, that such reasons did exist,

exist, because it is scarcely credible, that a British officer, bred in the army from his infancy, who had arrived at the rank of lieutenant-colonel, would have consented to surrender his troops in this quiet and inoffensive manner, if there had been any reasonable hope of a successful resistance.

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The island of St. Vincent having thus become an easy conquest, the count d'Estaing, whose fleet had by this time been increased by another reinforcement of ships under the command of monsieur de la Motte Piquet, sailed from Martinique towards the end of June, to make an attack upon Grenada, during the absence of Admiral Byron. His fleet consisted of thirty-four ships of war, besides a number of transports carrying nine thousand land forces. Of the ships of war, twenty-six were of the line, and the rest large frigates. With this formidable force he arrived at Grenada on the second of July. The fleet came to an anchor in the bay of Moliniere; and the troops were immediately landed. Detachments from these, during the night, took possession of some heights in the vicinity of the town of St. George, the capital of the island, from which the count d'Estaing, on the following day, was enabled to reconnoitre the defences of the place. These consisted of a fort and an intrenched hill, upon which the hospital stood. This hill, which nearly commanded the fort, constituted the principal defence of the place, being steep and of difficult ascent, and strengthened also with pallisadoes, and some lines of entrenchment. The whole regular force of the island did not exceed one hundred and fifty men, of whom twenty-four were artillery recruits, and the rest belonging to the forty-eighth regiment: To these were joined about four hundred militia, consisting chiefly of French inhabitants,

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habitants, who had become subjects after the peace of 1763, and of people of colour; but in the night after the landing of the French, so many of the militia deserted, that the whole effective force of the garrison was reduced under three hundred men. To a summons sent by the count d'Estaing, demanding a surrender of the island, lord Macartney, the governor, resolutely answered, that he was unacquainted with the force of the besiegers, but that he knew his own, and was determined to defend himself as long as he could. The count d'Estaing had hoped that the display which he had made of the magnitude of his force, both by sea and land, would have induced the governor to capitulate, from a conviction that all opposition would be fruitless; but the answer which he now received announced an obstinate resistance, from which the siege, if carried on by regular approaches, might be protracted until the arrival of admiral Byron with the British fleet. He therefore determined, after viewing the works, to storm the lines upon the hospital hill, whatever number of men it might cost him. A disposition was accordingly made; and the following night the lines were assaulted in three different places, the column which made the principal attack being commanded by the count d'Estaing in person. The French were at first repulsed, and suffered severely, not only from the fire of the garrison, but from the guns of a ship of war in the harbour, which enfiladed one of their columns. In the next attack, however, they were successful, forced the lines, notwithstanding a brave resistance made by the garrison, and gained the summit of the hill. The cannon found on the hospital hill were on the following morning turned against the fort; and that fort being commanded by the hill, lord Macartney was reduced

to

to the necessity of sending a flag of truce with an offer of surrendering the island by capitulation. In answer to his flag, he was allowed only an hour and a half to propose his terms; and although these were got ready, and presented in due time, they were instantly and wholly rejected by the count d'Estaing, who, instead of them, made proposals so extraordinary and inadmissible, that the governor, with the consent of the principal inhabitants, rather than accept of them, agreed to surrender at discretion; and in this manner, on the fourth of July, the count d'Estaing became possessed of the island of Grenada.

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In the mean time, admiral Byron, who had sailed with the home ward bound fleet from St. Christopher's, on the fifteenth of June, after accompanying them a proper distance, and appointing a convoy to escort them during the remainder of their passage, returned with the rest of his fleet to his former station at St. Lucie, where, however, he did not arrive until the first of July, having been for some time retarded by a strong easterly wind and lee-current, in his endeavours to weather the island of Martinique. At St. Lucie he was informed of the capture of St. Vincent's: And an arrangement for its recovery being instantly made between him and general Grant, so expeditiously were the troops embarked, which were destined for this service, that the whole fleet sailed on the third of July. In the passage to St. Vincent's, information was received that the count d'Estaing had left Martinique, and was gone to attack Grenada. This intelligence produced a change in the plan which had been pre-concerted between the admiral and the general; and a determination was now made to proceed with all expedition to the relief of Grenada. Soon afterwards two vessels which had made their escape, after

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after the arrival of count d'Estaing, and before the surrender of the island, met the British fleet; and from the intelligence brought by them, the admiral was led to believe that the naval force at Grenada, under the count d'Estaing, was inferior to his own: From the same source of intelligence he also learned that lord Macartney expected to be able to hold out for a fortnight. Admiral Byron's fleet, exclusive of transports, consisted of twenty-one ships of the line, and one frigate; the count d'Estaing's force was represented to be between fourteen and nineteen ships of the line; and under the influence of this intelligence, which afterwards appeared to be erroneous, the admiral made his subsequent arrangements for the attack of the French fleet. On the evening of the fifth of July the British fleet being so near that it must necessarily be in sight of Grenada on the following morning, the ships of war were drawn from amongst the transports, and these were left to windward under the care of rear-admiral Rowley, with three ships of the line, who had, nevertheless, orders to quit the transports and join the rest of the fleet whenever on the following morning a signal for that purpose should be made. The van division of the British fleet was commanded by admiral Barrington, in the prince of Wales; the centre division by admiral Byron, in the Princess Royal; and the rear by admiral Hyde Parker, in the Conqueror. In this order they sailed during the night; and at dawn of day the following morning were in sight of Grenada and the French fleet. One of the count d'Estaing's frigates had brought him intelligence, during the night, of the approach of admiral Byron, and he, in consequence of this intelligence, had given orders for his fleet to get under way by day-light in the morning; so that when
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the French fleet was first descried by admiral Byron, part of it was already under sail, and the rest in a cluster getting under way as fast as they could, a situation in which it was impossible to ascertain their number. A signal was immediately thrown out for a general chase towards the quarter where the French fleet lay, another for rear-admiral Rowley to quit the transports and join, and soon afterwards a third for a close engagement; the ship to fall in and form the line as they got up. As the British fleet bore down, that of the count d'Estaing stretched out from the land, and formed a line to leeward. Its great superiority was now perceptible; but if in consequence of this discovery any alteration had been necessary in the disposition of the British fleet, it was now too late to make it, as several of the advanced ships were already engaged. Admiral Barrington in the Prince of Wales, captain Sawyer in the Boyne, and captain Gardner in the Sultan, pressing forward with that ardour which has at all times distinguished the British naval service, had soon closed with the enemy's fleet, and brought it to action, bravely sustaining their spirited attack until they were joined by their companions. To succour these advanced ships, and, if possible, to make the action decisive, the same signals were still continued. But it was not the count d'Estaing's intention, notwithstanding the great superiority of his force, to risk the fate of Grenada upon the uncertain issue of a close engagement with an enemy, which, though inferior in number, was formidable enough to create apprehension; he therefore kept his fleet at a cautious distance, whenever the action had the appearance of becoming general, and closed only when single ships of the British fleet, in consequence of their advanced situation, were exposed

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to the fire of several of his own. His ships, too, being cleaner than those of admiral Byron, he had it too much in his power to increase or diminish his distance as it suited his purpose; whence it happened that some of the British ships were much disabled, whilst others were little injured, and some few not at all engaged. The three ships already mentioned, which commenced the action, sustained considerable damage, and lost a number of men: The brave admiral Barrington was amongst the wounded. The Grafton, captain Collingwood, the Cornwall, captain Edwards, and the Lyon, captain Cornwallis, happening during some part of the action to be to leeward of the British line, sustained the whole fire of the French fleet as it passed, and were greatly disabled; as was the Monmouth, captain Fanshawe, who gallantly bore down to stop the van of the enemy, and bring them to close action. The British admiral seeing the disabled condition of so many of his ships, hauled down the signal for chase, but continued that for close action; keeping at the same time to windward, and forming his line as well as circumstances would permit, to prevent the enemy from doubling upon him, and cutting him off from his transports, an intention which some of their movements plainly indicated. The design of the count d'Estaing against the transports being thus frustrated, he tacked to the southward with his whole fleet about three in the afternoon. The British admiral instantly did the same, that he might be in readiness to protect the Grafton, Cornwall, and Lion, three of his disabled ships, which were far astern, and the last of them greatly to leeward. The Lion had lost some of her masts, and her sails and rigging were so much cut to pieces that captain Cornwallis found it impossible to beat to windward: As soon, therefore, as the

the French fleet had tacked, and appeared to stand towards him, he bore away before the wind, and went with all the sail he could set to the westward. The other two ships stood for the British fleet, and from the extreme caution of the count d'Estaing, were fortunate enough to rejoin it : So studiously did he avoid every thing which could lead to a close engagement, that he made no effort to intercept them, although it was apparently much in his power. Night at last put an end to the action, the French fleet being then about three miles to leeward.

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At the time when the British fleet in the morning was nearest to the town of St. George, the white flag was seen flying on the fort and the different batteries, an appearance which left no doubt in the mind of the British admiral that the French were already in possession of the island; and as in the present crippled state of his fleet nothing effectual could be done for recovering it, he sent orders in the evening to the transports to make the best of their way to St. Christopher's, whilst he with the ships of war should keep between them and the enemy. And the Monmouth, which had suffered so much as to stand in need of immediate repair, was ordered to the same place. As the French fleet was only three miles to leeward at the close of the engagement in the evening; and as the count d'Estaing during the action must have clearly perceived his great superiority over the British fleet in point of number; admiral Byron expected to have been attacked as soon as daylight appeared in the morning; but in the morning the French fleet was not to be seen. It had returned during the night to Grenada : And as nothing farther could at present be attempted for the recovery of the island, the British admiral followed the transports to St. Christopher's, in order

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der to refit his disabled ships. The *Lion*, which we have mentioned to have stood to the westward at the time when the French fleet tacked on the day of the engagement, was so entirely disabled, that captain Cornwallis was obliged to bear away for Jamaica to get her damage repaired. In masts, sails, and rigging, the damage done to the British fleet, was great; but in men the loss of the French was beyond all comparison greater. Endeavours were used to conceal it; but the best accounts made it amount to one thousand two hundred killed, including twenty-one officers, and nearly two thousand wounded; whereas the loss on board the British fleet amounted only to four officers and one hundred and seventy-nine men killed, and the same number of officers and three hundred and forty-two men wounded*.

* Return of killed and wounded on board Admiral Byron's fleet, the 9th of July 1779, in the action with the French fleet off Grenada.

	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>sum.</i>	<i>Killed</i>	<i>Wound.</i>
<i>Van Division.</i>	1. Suffolk	{ Rear Admiral Rowley } Captain Christian	617	74	7	25
	2. Boyne	Captain Sawyer	520	68	12	30
	3. Royal Oak	Captain Fitzherbert	600	74	4	12
	4. Prince of Wales	{ Vice Adm. Barrington } Captain Hill	617	74	26	46
	5. Magnificent	Captain Elphinston	600	74	8	11
	6. Trident	Captain Molloy	500	64	3	6
	7. Medway.	Captain Affleck	428	60	—	4
	8. Fame	Captain Butchart	600	74	4	9
	9. Nonfuch	Captain Griffith	500	64	—	—
	10. Sultan	Captain Gardner	600	74	16	39
<i>Centre.</i>	11. Princess Royal	{ Admiral Byron } Captain Blair	770	90	3	6
	12. Albion	Captain Bowyer	600	74	—	2
	13. Stirling Castle	Captain Carkett	500	64	2	6
	14. Elifabeth	Captain Truscott	600	74	1	2
<i>Rear.</i>	15. Yarmouth	Captain Bateman	500	64	—	—
	16. Lion	Captain Cornwallis	500	64	21	30
	17. Vigilant	Sir Digby Dent	500	54	—	—
	18. Conqueror	{ Rear Adm. Parker } Captain Harmood	617	74	—	—
	19. Cornwall	Captain Edwards	600	74	16	27
	20. Monmouth	Captain Fanshawe	500	64	25	28
	21. Grafton	Captain Collingwood	600	74	35	63
						183

The

The island of Grenada having been surrendered at discretion, the governor, garrison, and inhabitants were subjected to the will of the conqueror, except so far as the law of nations, independent of all positive stipulation, imposed limits to his authority. But even these, it is said, were shamefully transgressed; and the inhabitants experienced all the rigorous oppression and severity which flow from uncontrolled power, when exercised by an unfeeling and unprincipled despot.

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General Alarm throughout the British West India Islands—Quieted by the Departure of Count d'Estaing to Hispaniola—Reduction of Sunbury in Georgia—Colonel Campbell's Expedition to Augusta—Circuit for the Encouragement of the Loyalists performed by Colonel Hamilton—Colonel Hamilton quits Augusta and returns to Savannah—Attempts of General Lincoln to straiten the British Quarters—Frustrated by Colonel Prevost—Unsuccessful Attempt of General Prevost on Charlestown—General Prevost retires from Charlestown, and takes Post at John's Island.

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General
alarm
through-
out the Bri-
tish West
India is-
lands,

quieted by
the depar-
ture of
count d'Es-
taing to
Hispaniola.

THE balance of conquests in the West Indies was now greatly in favour of the French; St. Lucie, the only British acquisition, being but a poor recompence for the loss of Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Grenada; and the great superiority of the French fleet in that quarter threatened to make the balance still greater, and filled the inhabitants of the remaining British West India possessions with general alarm and apprehension. But the approach of the hurricane season, added to the loss of men in the last action, set bounds for the present to the ambitious projects of the count d'Estaing. After remaining some time at Grenada, for the purpose of settling the government, he sailed with his fleet for Cape François, in Hispaniola. And here we shall leave him, in order to resume the relation of such events as happened

pened on the American continent since the commencement of the present year.

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The rigour of winter suspended all military operations between the two great armies in the province of New York, until the return of spring; but in the more southerly climate of Georgia, the winter is the properest season for action, and in this last province it may be remembered that lieutenant-colonel Campbell began his victorious career as late as the end of December. We left him, after he had defeated the provincials, and driven them across the Savannah into South Carolina, receiving the inhabitants of Georgia under the protection of Great Britain, forming them into military corps for their own defence, and framing other regulations for the future peace and security of the province. He had also projected, and was making preparations for proceeding on an expedition up the Savannah to Augusta, the principal town in the interior part of the province, as soon as the arrival of general Prevost should enable him to undertake it. That general had met with many difficulties and delays in his march towards Georgia, from the want of horses and carriages to transport his artillery, ammunition, baggage, and provisions. These were carried in open boats, through the different inland water-courses, with which the sea-coast of East Florida, as well as Georgia and the Carolinas, every-where abounds; and the boats were frequently obliged to make large circuits, in order to avoid the enemy's galleys. During these circuits the troops, for want of other provisions, were sometimes obliged to subsist for several days together on oysters, which the inlets from the sea fortunately afforded. At last, however, they penetrated into Georgia, and reached Sunbury about the beginning of January, the fort of which they immediately

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Events on
the North
American
continent.

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1779.

Reduction
of Sunbury
in Georgia.

invested, being the only place of strength remaining in the possession of the Americans in the lower parts of the province. Lieutenant-colonel Prevost, the brother of the general, by making a forced march with part of the troops, had previously surrounded it to prevent the garrison from escaping, the commander of which at first seemed determined to make an obstinate resistance; but after trenches were opened, and some pieces of artillery had been brought up, he thought fit, on the ninth of January, to surrender the fort at discretion, with upwards of forty pieces of ordnance, and a considerable quantity of ammunition*; an acquisition made with the loss of only one man killed and three wounded. The loss of the garrison in killed and wounded was equally inconsiderable; but the survivors, amounting to two hundred and twelve, were made prisoners of war. General Prevost, after the reduction of Sunbury, proceeded to Savannah, where he arrived about the middle of January; and as soon afterwards as the necessary arrangements were completed, lieutenant-colonel Campbell set out on his expedition to Augusta.

* Artillery, Stores, &c. taken at Sunbury in Georgia, in January 1779, when the Fort was surrendered to General Prevost.

24 pieces of brass ordnance	3002 musket cartridges,
1 brass seven-inch mortar	500 carbine ditto
20 pieces of iron ordnance	150 musket ball, 1,800 cwt. lead in pigs
824 round shot of different sizes	28 powder barrels
100 case and grape shot, 30 shells,	400 musket flints
50 hand grenades	150 cartridge boxes, 72 pouches with powder horns
180 musket with bayonets, 12 rifles, 40 fuses and carbines, and 4 wall pieces	30 claw handspikes with ladles, wad-hooks, and sponges.

In

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In war much depends upon the promptitude with which a commander seizes and improves those opportunities of action that are presented by fortuitous circumstances. This observation has been already exemplified in the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Campbell, on the day on which he defeated the American troops before Savannah, with so little loss on his own side; and it is further verified by all the proceedings of this officer during his command. Had he not commenced his operations at the critical moment when he did commence them, without waiting for the junction of general Prevost, and had he not improved his first success by rapidly pursuing the enemy after their defeat, until they were finally driven out of the province, it is probable that the conquest of even the lower parts of Georgia, instead of being effected in less than ten days, might have been a work not only of time, but of difficulty; as a large reinforcement was hastening towards it, which reached the northern banks of the Savannah just in time to collect the scattered remains of the American general Howe's defeated army.

The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia, with a view to the conquest of East Florida, had solicited the congress to appoint general Lincoln to the command of the troops to the southward. That officer was the second in command in the army which captured general Burgoyne, a circumstance which of itself was sufficient to give him eclat. But his judicious, brave, and spirited conduct on the occasion, gave him still better pretensions to fame, and entitled him, in the opinion of the Americans, to no small share in the glory of the achievement. He was, in September of the last year, appointed by congress to the command

CHAP. command of the southern army, and arrived at
 XXVIII. Charlestown in South Carolina about the begin-
 1779. ning of December.

Long before Lincoln's arrival at Charlestown, general Washington, through his spies at New York, had received intelligence of the intended expedition against Georgia; and as soon as this information was conveyed to the southward, the provincial government of North Carolina, with a decision which did them credit, embodied two thousand of their militia to serve for five months, and without delay sent them on to Charlestown, under the command of generals Ashe and Rutherford, where they were to be provided with arms. These troops arrived in time at Charlestown to have reached general How at Savannah before he was attacked, had they been immediately furnished with arms. But the government of South Carolina refused to supply them, until it was finally ascertained by the proceedings of the British, that Georgia, and not South Carolina, was the object of their expedition. The reinforcement which we have already mentioned to have met general How, as soon as he had crossed the Savannah, consisted of a detachment of these troops, with two regular regiments from Charlestown, amounting in the whole to nine hundred and fifty men; and with these and the remains of the Georgia army, general Lincoln, on the third of January, established his head-quarters at Purysburg, on the north side of the river, about fifteen miles above the town of Savannah.

The inhabitants of several of the interior counties of North Carolina were known to be well affected to the British government. The expedition up the Savannah, the course of which led towards these inhabitants, had, therefore, a double object, and was intended to open and
 establish

establish a communication with them, as well as to reduce the remaining part of Georgia. Augusta, the second town in Georgia, lies upon the southern bank of the river Savannah, and is distant from the sea-coast about one hundred and fifty miles. The previous arrangements necessary for marching through such an extent of country, in many places thinly, and in some not at all inhabited, were so well adjusted by lieutenant-colonel Campbell, that he met with few interruptions, except such as arose from the water-courses in his way, the bridges over which were in most places destroyed. Upon his approach to Augusta, a body of provincials, under the command of brigadier-general Williamson, quitted the town, and retreated across the river. Here, as well as at Savannah, the inhabitants flocked in, took the oath of allegiance, and, for their own defence, were formed into companies, under officers of their own choice. From Augusta lieutenant-colonel Hamilton of the North Carolina regiment was detached towards the frontiers of Georgia, with two hundred infantry, mounted on horseback, to encourage such of the inhabitants as were attached to the British government, and to disarm the disaffected. In his progress he soon discovered that, although many of the people came in to take the oath of allegiance, the professions of a considerable number were not to be depended upon; and that some came in only for the purpose of gaining information of his strength and future designs. In various quarters he met with opposition; and all their places of strength held out until they were reduced. The reduction of most of these was not, however, a work of great difficulty, as they consisted only of stockade forts, calculated for defence against the Indians.

At

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Colonel
Campbell's
expedition
to Augusta
in Georgia.Circuit for
the encour-
agement
of the loyal-
ists, per-
formed by
colonel
Hamilton.

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At last, having nearly completed his circuit, he was attacked by a colonel Pickens, with five hundred militia, who had marched against him from the district of Ninety-six, in the province of South Carolina; but the militia were soon repulsed and obliged to fly. The bodies of nine or ten who had been killed in the action were afterwards found in the woods covered with leaves; their wounded they carried off. During the progress of lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, a number of loyalists in the interior parts of North Carolina had embodied themselves under a colonel Boyd, and attempted to force their way into Georgia, and form a junction with the British troops. It was to oppose these, as well as to check colonel Hamilton's progress, that colonel Pickens had assembled his militia; and finding that he could make no impression upon the latter, he turned his arms against the loyalists, who had by this time forced a passage across the Savannah in the face of a detachment which he had left to oppose them. He came up with them at Kettle Creek, and an engagement ensued, in which the loyalists, after an obstinate resistance, were defeated with the loss of their commander, colonel Boyd, and a considerable number killed and wounded. About three hundred of them, by keeping together, afterwards found means to join the British army. The rest were dispersed, some flying back to North Carolina, and others into South Carolina, where they threw themselves upon the mercy of their countrymen. Of those who fled into South Carolina, seventy were tried and convicted of treason against the new government, but five only were put to death.

Lieutenant-colonel Campbell having received orders to retreat from Augusta, recalled the detachment from the frontiers, and about the middle of

of February retired down the Savannah by easy marches until he reached Hudson's Ferry, about twenty-four miles above Ebenezer, now the headquarters of the army. At Hudson's Ferry he left the advance of the army under the command of lieutenant-colonel Prevost, and returned to Savannah, to establish some civil regulations in the province, previous to his departure for England, which took place soon afterwards.

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1779.

February.

Colonel
Campbell
quits Au-
gusta, and
returns to
Savannah.

The post at Augusta was too distant to be supported; for as the British troops extended themselves along the southern banks of the Savannah, the provincials did the same on the opposite side; and general Lincoln, whose force was every day increasing, had not only established several posts in force on the north side of the river, but was also enabled to detach general Ashe, with one thousand five hundred militia, and some regular troops, to strengthen the provincial post opposite to Augusta, and to improve any opportunity which might offer for crossing the river, in order to straiten the British quarters. General Ashe, upon his arrival at the post opposite to Augusta, found that town already evacuated by the British troops, who had retired down the river: He therefore, in pursuance of his orders, crossed the river, and followed them as far as Brier Creek, behind which he took post, about thirteen miles above Hudson's Ferry.

General Lincoln was now forming a plan in concert with general Ashe, for confining the British troops within still narrower limits; but before he could carry it into execution, lieutenant-colonel Prevost, with a detachment consisting of three grenadier companies of the sixtieth regiment, sir James Baird's light-infantry, the second battalion of the seventy-first regiment, captain Tawes's provincial troop of light dragoons, and some rangers

Attempt of
general
Lincoln to
straiten the
British
quarters.

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Frustrated
by colonel
Prevost.

and militia, amounting in the whole to nine hundred men, by making a circuit, and crossing Brier Creek fifteen miles above the place where general Ashe was encamped, found means to get into his rear unperceived; and whilst major Macpherson, with the first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, and some irregulars, with two field pieces, appeared in front of the Americans, in order to draw their attention that way, they were on the third of March attacked in the opposite quarter by lieutenant-colonel Prevost, and totally routed and dispersed, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, several stand of colours, almost all their arms, and the whole of their ammunition and baggage. About one hundred and fifty of the enemy fell in the field of action and in the pursuit; twenty-seven officers, including brigadier-general Elbert, the second in command, with two hundred men, were made prisoners; and a much greater number perished in the river endeavouring to make their escape. Of those who did escape, many returned home: And of the whole detachment under general Ashe, which was supposed to exceed two thousand men, only four hundred and fifty rejoined general Lincoln. The loss of the British troops amounted only to five privates killed, and one officer and ten privates wounded. The plan of this surprise was well imagined, and the execution admirably conducted; and both serve to exhibit in a very superior point of view the military talents of lieutenant colonel Prevost. In consequence of this signal victory, the communication was again opened between the British posts and the frontier settlements.

In the mean time a new governor was elected for South Carolina, and to him and his council were delegated powers almost dictatorial for the defence of the province. In consequence of the
rigorous

rigorous exercise of those powers, the army under general Lincoln was soon afterwards reinforced with a body of one thousand militia; and this reinforcement enabled him to resume his former design of entering Georgia by the way of Augusta, in order to interrupt the communication which Lieutenant-colonel Prevost's victory had opened; he had also another powerful motive for marching towards that place at present, which was to protect the provincial delegates for Georgia, who had agreed to meet and hold a convention at Georgia in the month of May. General Lincoln's force now amounted to five thousand men: Of these he left about one thousand to garrison Puryburg and Black Swamp, the former of these places under the command of colonel Macintosh, and the latter under general Moultrie; and with the rest, on the twenty-third of April, he began his march up the Savannah. Five days after his departure general Prevost, with a view of obliging him to return, passed over the greatest part of his army into South Carolina. The American posts at Puryburg and Black Swamp were immediately abandoned; and general Moultrie, unable to withstand the force to which he was opposed, retreated hastily towards Charlestown, destroying all the bridges in his rear as he passed them. Expresses were immediately dispatched after general Lincoln; but he concluded that the irruption of the British troops into South Carolina was only a feint to divert him from his principal object, and unmoved proceeded on his march, after detaching three hundred chosen troops to reinforce general Moultrie. The British general's original intention was no other than what Lincoln supposed; but meeting with scarcely any opposition or impediment in his progress, except what arose from the destruction of the bridges, and
receiving

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receiving at the same time information of the defenceless state of Charlestown on that side on which he would approach it, he began to cherish the hope of being able to reduce it before general Lincoln could come to its relief; and the farther he advanced, his expectations became the more sanguine, in consequence of the general scope of the intelligence received from the inhabitants of the province, who joined him on his march.

At Charlestown all was bustle and confusion; and the inhabitants were for some time in a state of the most anxious suspense, between the hope of being relieved by general Lincoln, to whom expresses were daily sent, and the fear of being attacked before his return. Charlestown stands upon a point of land between the rivers Ashley and Cooper, which uniting just below it, and inclosing the town between them, form a bay, opening into the sea, at the distance of some miles eastward. Towards the bay, and the rivers on each side, batteries had been erected, as in these quarters the town was exposed to an attack from a naval force; but towards the land side scarcely any precautions had been taken for its defence, as on that side they had hitherto apprehended no danger. It was in this quarter, however, that at present all their danger lay; and the greatest efforts were made to put it into some tolerable state of defence. The slaves, with which South Carolina abounds, were now of the greatest use. The houses in the suburbs being burnt down, and an immense number of slaves being employed, lines and abatis were in a few days carried across from Ashley to Cooper River, and cannon were mounted at proper intervals. Fort Johnston, on the south side of the bay, as being at present of no use, was dismantled, and the garrison withdrawn to Charlestown. General Moultrie, with
the

the remains of his retreating army, entered the town, governor Rutlege arrived with a body of militia from the interior country, and colonel Harris with the three hundred light troops detached by general Lincoln. Count Pulaski too, with his legion, crossed Cooper River to Charlestown the same day on which it was invested by general Prevost. The arrival of these different reinforcements all nearly about the same time, infused some spirit into the inhabitants, and encouraged them to stand upon their defence. If numbers could give them confidence, they had indeed every reason to expect success; as, in consequence of these reinforcements, the garrison exceeded general Prevost's army in number by at least one third.

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On the 10th of May, in the evening, the British troops reached Ashley Ferry, and, having passed the river, appeared before the lines at Charlestown on the following day, the remainder of which was spent in skirmishes of little moment. On the twelfth the town was summoned to surrender; and favourable terms of capitulation were offered, which however were rejected. But as it was of consequence to the garrison and the people of the town to gain as much time as possible, things were so contrived that the whole day was spent in sending and receiving messages; in the course of which a proposal was made on their part for the neutrality of the province during the war, and that at the end of the war its fate should be determined by the treaty of peace. But after various messages and explanations of this proposal, it was utterly rejected by general Prevost; and the commissioners from the town were told, that as the garrison was in arms, they must surrender as prisoners of war. This declaration put an end to the negotiation; and the inhabitants of the town now expected nothing else than an assault.

May.
Unsuccessful attempt
of general
Prevost on
Charlestown.

But

CHAP. But on the following morning they were agreeably
 XXVIII. surpris'd when they found that the British troops
 1779. had been withdrawn during the night, and had
 re-crossed Ashley Ferry. After taking a view of
 the lines at Charlestown, general Prevost was con-
 vinced, that, although unfinished, they were not
 to be forced without such a loss of men as he
 could not spare. He also knew that the garrison,
 reinforced as it had been, was now more numerous
 than the troops which he had to lead against it* ;
 and that general Lincoln was by this time hasten-
 ing to its relief from the back country, with a
 force still greater. The British general was there-
 fore, at last, prudent enough to retire, although
 with that loss of credit which arises from making
 an abortive attempt, the original design of which
 appears to have been unwise, and the means used
 to accomplish it incompetent and ineffectual. If
 general Prevost had not a sufficient force to main-
 tain the post at Augusta, and preserve the proper
 communications with it ; that force was still less
 adequate to garrison Charlestown, even if he had
 taken it, and at the same time preserve a commu-
 nication with Georgia, or indeed leave a sufficient
 force for its defence. But if this consideration
 had been out of the question, he had not with
 him a train of artillery sufficient to cover an as-
 fault.

The British troops having crossed Ashley River,
 after foraging for some days, retired towards the
 sea coast ; which, being intersected by a chain of
 inland water courses, leading all the way to the
 Savannah River, afforded them, in consequence
 of their shipping, not only the easiest, but the
 safest means of effecting their retreat to Georgia,

* General Prevost's force was about 2400 men ; the garrison
 3300, including militia.

and transporting their baggage, unmolested. From the main land they passed to James Island, and from thence to John's Island, where they took post until the arrival of a supply of ammunition, which had for some time been expected from New York.

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In the mean time general Lincoln had proceeded as far as Augusta, notwithstanding the intelligence he received of general Prevost's irruption into South Carolina. But whilst he remained at this place, the daily expresses which arrived from Charlestown, with information of the rapid progress of the British troops, soon convinced him that something more was now intended by this irruption, than a mere feint: And after establishing a post at Augusta, and marching for three days down the south side of the river Savannah, a route which was preferred, as the distance was nearly the same, for the purpose of displaying his force, and reanimating the almost desponding hopes of such of the inhabitants of Georgia as were still attached to the American cause, he recrossed the Savannah, and returned with hasty marches towards Charlestown, until he reached Dorchester, at the entrance of what is called Charlestown Neck; and here he established his head-quarters, until the British troops retired from Ashley Ferry towards the sea-coast.

C H A P. XXIX.

General Prevost departs from John's Island to Savannah—Succeeded in the Command at John's Island by Lieutenant Colonel Maitland—attacked by General Lincoln—The Americans repulsed—General Prevost having established a Post in the Island of Port Royal, retires with the rest of the Army to Georgia.

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JOHN's Island, of which general Prevost had taken possession, is separated from the main land by an inlet to which has been given the name of Stono River; and the communication between the one and the other is preserved by a ferry. Upon the main land, at this ferry, a post was established, as well for the security of the island as for the protection of the British foraging parties; which was thought of so much consequence, that for some time the garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men under the command of lieutenant-colonel Prevost. For the defence of this post in front, three redoubts were thrown up, which were joined by lines of communication; and its rear was covered by Stono Inlet, across which, to John's Island, a kind of bridge was formed by the numerous sloops, schooners, and other smaller vessels that attended the army.

Although it was neither the interest nor inclination of Lincoln to risque a general engagement with the British troops, it was obviously his wish to attack their out-posts, and cut them off in detail. With this view, on the fourth of June, he appeared

appeared with his army in front of the post at Stono Ferry; but, after viewing the lines, thought proper to retire. Not long afterwards, on the sixteenth of June, lieutenant-colonel Prevost departed for Savannah, carrying with him the grenadiers of the sixtieth regiment, and all the vessels which had formed the bridge of communication except an armed flat, capable of containing twenty men. About this time it seems to have been determined to evacuate the post; and upon lieutenant-colonel Maitland, who at Prevost's departure was appointed to succeed him in the command, devolved the care of conducting that service which the injudicious conduct of his predecessor, in carrying away the vessels that preserved the communication with John's Island, had rendered both difficult and dangerous. But every thing was done which could be expected from the zeal, ability, and experience of this distinguished officer. The seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth days of June were employed in transporting across the inlet the sick and wounded, the negroes and Indians, with the baggage and horses belonging to the garrison, and in destroying all unnecessary huts and buildings, and putting the post in a proper state of defence against a sudden attack. Such precautionary measures had become the more necessary in consequence of the present feeble state of the garrison, which consisted of the first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, much weakened and reduced in its numbers, part of a Hessian regiment, part of the North and South Carolina regiments of provincials, and a detachment of artillery, the whole not much exceeding five hundred men, really effective, and fit for duty. The weak state of the garrison, which was not unknown to general Lincoln, tempted him to renew his design of cutting it off; and on

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General
Prevost de-
parts from
John's Is-
land to Sa-
vannah: Is
succeeded
in the com-
mand at
John's Is-
land by
lieutenant-
colonel
Maitland.

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British
troops un-
der colonel
Maitland
attacked by
general
Lincoln.

the twentieth of June he advanced against it with a force consisting of two brigades of continental troops, a corps of light infantry, several regiments of North and South Carolina militia, and a detachment of artillery with eight pieces of cannon, the whole estimated by general Prevost, in his official letter, at five thousand men. An attack made upon the British picquets advanced a considerable distance in front of the works, about seven in the morning, which was attended with a smart firing of musketry, gave the first alarm to lieutenant-colonel Maitland. The garrison was immediately ordered under arms, and two companies of the seventy-first regiment, under the command of captain Campbell, were sent out on the right to feel the strength of the enemy. The highlanders are not the best qualified for such a service: Their impetuosity is apt to hurry them on too far, and their obstinate bravery indisposes them to retreat until it is often too late; and so it happened on the present occasion. This detachment had proceeded only a little more than a quarter of a mile when it fell in with the left wing of the provincial army already formed: An engagement immediately commenced, which was so obstinately maintained by the highlanders against so great a superiority of force, that they did not retreat until all their officers were either killed or wounded; and of the two companies, only eleven men were able to make good their retreat. The whole provincial line now advanced within three hundred yards of the works, and a general engagement began with cannon and musketry, which was supported by the provincials with more than usual firmness. The fierce attack made by the highlanders upon their left, instead of intimidating, seemed to have animated them to copy their brave example. A regiment of

Hessians

Hessians on the left of the British line unfortunately gave way, and the provincials pressing forward, had already reached the abbatis of the works. At this critical juncture a judicious and rapid movement of part of the seventy-first regiment, which was ordered from the right to the left of the British line, stopped the progress of the Americans, and restored the fortune of the day. By the great exertions of lieutenant-colonel Maitland, and the officers in general, the Hessians were rallied and again brought into action. The provincials were, in their turn, now obliged to retreat; but they retreated in good order, carrying with them some of their killed and all their wounded. The horses belonging to the garrison had, in the view of its evacuation, been transported to John's Island before the day of the attack, so that no pursuit could be made. The whole loss of the British troops in this day's action amounted to one hundred and twenty-nine: Of these, three officers and twenty-three men were killed, and ten officers and ninety-three men wounded, one only being missing. The loss of the provincials does not appear ever to have been published, and perhaps never was fully ascertained. A list of their killed and wounded officers, however has been published, amounting to twenty-six, just double the number of British officers who were killed or wounded: And if we suppose the loss of men in proportion to officers, to have been nearly the same on both sides, we shall have reason to conclude, that the whole loss of the provincials in killed and wounded did not much fall short of three hundred men. The greatest praise was due to lieutenant-colonel Maitland for the successful defence of his post, with a handful of men, against a force so superior, in which he was bravely supported by all the officers of the garrison.

The Americans repulsed.

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Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton of the North Carolina regiment, and majors M^cArthur, Frazer, and Skelly, in a particular manner distinguished themselves. The artillery was most excellently served, and did great execution under the direction of captain Fairlamb, and lieutenants Wilson and Wallace, all of whom were wounded, and the latter so severely, that he died a few days after. It would be endless to point out the merits of all who were entitled to praise; but the singular gallantry of an action performed by captain Moncrieff of the engineers, in the sight of both armies, cannot be omitted. That officer was on John's Island with the troops under general Prevost at the commencement of the action; but as soon as the firing was heard, he rode in all haste to Stono Ferry, and crossing over, contributed by his distinguished services, during the remainder of the action, to the success of the day. With twenty men only he sallied out in the face of the whole provincial army, took an ammunition waggon, and brought it safe within the lines. This was a most seasonable supply of what was greatly wanted; for such was the scarcity of ammunition in the British garrison, that the last charges were in the guns when the provincials gave way. The troops on John's Island were put in motion by general Prevost as soon as he received intelligence of the attack, but they did not arrive at Stono Ferry in time to take any part in the action. The appearance of a reinforcement coming to the assistance of the garrison, might, nevertheless, have contributed to damp the ardour of the Americans and hasten their repulse.

The militia under general Lincoln were disheartened by this unsuccessful attack; and the greatest part of them soon afterwards quitted the army and returned home. The British troops were

were no farther molested : The post at Stono Ferry was evacuated ; and the army retiring along the sea-coast, passed from island to island until it reached Beaufort in the island of Port Royal. At Beaufort general Prevost established a post, the garrison of which he left under the command of lieutenant-colonel Maitland, and returned with the rest of the army to Georgia ; that the troops might rest during the hot and sickly season, which in this southern province prevents the operations of an army as effectually, as the rigour of winter does in a more northerly climate. For the same reason the American army retired to Sheldon ; and nothing of any consequence was attempted by either during the months of July and August.

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General Prevost, having established a post in the island of Port Royal, retires with the rest of the army to Georgia.

The only real advantage gained by this irruption into South Carolina, was a supply of provisions for the troops, the want of which had begun to be felt in Georgia, and the establishing a post at Beaufort. But the American accounts have charged the army under general Prevost with gaining other advantages not of so honourable a kind, and with such an appearance of truth, that a regard to impartiality obliges us not to pass them over unnoticed. By these accounts they have been charged with plundering the inhabitants indiscriminately, and enriching themselves at their expence ; an imputation, if true, of a most disgraceful nature and ruinous tendency, not only to the army, but to the interest of the British nation ; as such a rapacious conduct must have irritated the inhabitants in general against the British army, and alienated the attachment even of those who were the best affected to government.

CHAP. XXX.

The Count d'Estaing sets sail for the American Continent—and arrives on the Coast of Georgia—Efforts Military and Naval for the Preservation of Savannah—Count d'Estaing summons Savannah to surrender to the Arms of his Most Christian Majesty—General Prevost succoured by Colonel Maitland—The combined Armies of France and America besiege Savannah—attack the British Lines—repulsed with considerable Loss—raise the Siege—The Campaign to the southward of North America concluded—Campaign in other Parts of the American Continent spent in desultory Operations—Naval Operations of Sir George Collier.

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ALTHOUGH general Prevost had been obliged to retire from Charlestown without reducing it, and although all the upper country of Georgia was now in the possession of the Americans; yet so long as the British troops maintained a footing in the lower parts of that province, with a post at Beaufort, the inhabitants of South Carolina were exposed to incursions similar to that which we have already related, and could not be free from the most uneasy apprehensions. The post at Beaufort in the island of Port Royal was secure against an attack so long as the British maintained their superiority by sea; and so long as that post was maintained, general Lincoln could not even occupy his former quarters at Puryburg, without the danger of being inclosed between

tween the British troops at Savannah and those at Beaufort. On the other hand, if the British lost their superiority by sea, the separation of their force into two divisions would render each of them an easier conquest. Moved by such considerations, Rutledge, the governor of South Carolina, Lincoln, the commander of the southern army, and monsieur Plombard, the French consul at Charlestown, severally wrote letters to the count d'Estaing, who by this time had arrived at Cape François, after the conquest of Grenada. In these they represented to him the state of affairs in the southern provinces, and pointed out the advantages which might be expected, should he, during the hurricane months in the West Indies, visit the American coast with his fleet, and co-operate with general Lincoln in the recovery of Georgia. The count d'Estaing, who had discretionary orders from his court for such a co-operation, flushed with his success at Grenada, indulged the ambitious but vain hope of being able, not only to sweep the American coast with his superior fleet, but by acting in conjunction with the provincials to reduce the different posts occupied by the British troops within the limits of the revolted provinces, and thereby put an end to the war even during the present campaign. To a man who entertained such visionary projects, the applications from South Carolina, with their proposals for co-operation, could not fail to be highly acceptable; and they met with his immediate concurrence. Georgia, it was supposed, would be an easy conquest, and was, therefore, the fittest for the commencement of his victorious career. In compliance with the requisition which had been made to him, the count d'Estaing sailed forthwith for the American continent, proceeding by the windward passage. Two ships of the line, with three

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The count
d'Estaing
sets sail
for the
American
continent,

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and arrives
on the coast
of Georgia.
September.

three frigates, were dispatched as soon as he had got through the windward passage, to announce his approach to the inhabitants of Charlestown; and with the rest of his fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line, two ships of fifty guns, and eleven frigates, having on board a considerable land force, he arrived on the coast of Georgia about the beginning of September. So sudden and unexpected was the count d'Estaing's appearance on this part of the American coast, that the Experiment of fifty guns, commanded by sir James Wallace, and two store-ships under his convoy, unapprehensive of danger, had the misfortune to fall in with the French fleet off the bar of Savannah river, and were of course taken, but not till after a desperate resistance made by the Experiment, although she had been previously dismasted in a storm. The Ariel of twenty-four guns, which had been on a cruise off Charlestown bar, shared the same fate.

As soon as intelligence of the arrival of count d'Estaing reached South Carolina, general Lincoln, with the force which he had then with him, instantly marched towards Georgia: Orders were also issued for assembling the militia, who were, with all expedition, to follow general Lincoln; and vessels of a proper draught of water were dispatched from Charlestown to assist in landing the French troops.

It does not appear that the British commanders in Georgia were apprised of the arrival of count d'Estaing until the fourth of September, when his whole force, consisting of forty-one sail, was seen to the southward of Tybee plying to windward.

Efforts military and naval for the preservation of Savannah.

Information was immediately sent to general Prevost; in consequence of which, measures were taken for increasing the fortifications at Savannah, and putting the town in a proper posture of defence.

defence. The garrison at Sunbury, under lieutenant-colonel Cruger, was withdrawn; and orders were dispatched to Beaufort for lieutenant-colonel Maitland with the troops, and captain Christian of the navy, with the ships and galleys under his command, to repair in all haste to Savannah.

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In the mean time, captain Henry, who commanded the British naval force in the river Savannah, was taking precautions as well for its safety as for rendering it serviceable in the defence of the town. The leading marks upon the shore, which point out the channel to ships passing the bar, were cut down; and the squadron under captain Henry, which consisted only of the Fowey, Rose, Kestrel armed brig, and Germaine provincial armed ship, with some galleys, was so stationed that it might retire with safety towards the town of Savannah whenever future circumstances should render it expedient.

The retreat of this small squadron soon became a measure of absolute necessity. On the ninth of October the French fleet came to an anchor off the bar; and as the line-of-battle ships, from their great draught of water, could not pass it, nor come near the shore, the small coasting vessels sent from Charlestown were employed in receiving the troops from the French ships, and landing them at Beaulieu in Oribaw Sound, an inlet of the sea some miles south of the mouth of the river Savannah. On the following day four French frigates entered the anchorage ground at Tybee, and rendered it necessary for the British naval force to move up the river to Savannah. Upon its arrival the guns were landed from the ships, and mounted on the batteries. The marines were incorporated with the grenadiers of
the

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the sixtieth regiment; and the seamen were put on shore to assist in working the artillery. The *Rose*, and *Savannah* armed ship, with four transports, were sunk across the channel below the town, to prevent the French frigates from coming higher; and above it some smaller vessels were sunk, and a boom was laid across to prevent fire-rafts from being sent down. The *Germaine* armed brig alone retained her guns; and she was stationed off *Yamiraw*, above the town, to flank the right of the British lines. These dispositions were made on the river, whilst on shore the troops, assisted by some hundreds of negroes, were employed in strengthening the old, and erecting new works for the defence of the town.

As soon as the debarkation of the French troops was completed, the count d'Estaing marched against Savannah, and without waiting for a junction with the American army, which was every instant expected to come up, summoned general Prevost to surrender the town to the arms of his most christian majesty, displaying in his summons, in terms bordering on extravagance, the magnitude of his force, and the valour of his troops, who had so lately stormed the fortifications at Grenada, and in so short a time achieved the conquest of that island, and threatening to make general Prevost answerable in his own person, should he, after this premonition, wilfully persist in making a fruitless defence. This hasty proceeding of the count d'Estaing, without waiting for general Lincoln, or joining the American states in the summons for a surrender, had nearly created a difference between him and his allies. By some it was thought to be a plain indication that the French meant to conquer for themselves; but upon a remonstrance being afterwards made by general Lincoln, the count d'Estaing gave such

such an explanation of his motives and intentions as was deemed satisfactory. General Prevost, to whom it was of the utmost importance to gain time, returned a civil message to the count d'Estaing, acknowledging the receipt of the summons, and desiring twenty-four hours to consider of an answer, and to prepare the terms on which a surrender might be made, should that be his ultimate determination. The request was granted without any difficulty; the count d'Estaing expecting nothing less than a surrender of the town at the expiration of the time fixed for an answer: But it was made with a very different view by general Prevost. He hoped that the troops under lieutenant-colonel Maitland might arrive during the interval; and in this hope he was not disappointed. That officer, after struggling with difficulties during some part of his route, which, to a mind less determined, would have appeared insurmountable, arrived at Savannah before the expiration of the truce, with the best part of his detachment, amounting to about eight hundred men. As the French were in possession of all the lower part of the river, he had no other way left of effecting a junction with general Prevost but by transporting his troops in boats through the marshes by an inland water course called Wall's Cut, which for two miles was so shoal, that the men, wading up to their middle, were obliged to drag the boats by main force through the mud. The residue of the garrison at Beaufort, which for want of a sufficient number of boats could not be transported, remained with the ships and gallies under the command of captain Christian; and their retreat being now cut off, they took a new position in Callibogie Sound, where, by erecting batteries on the shore, they made such a strong disposition for defence, that neither the French nor Americans

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General
Prevost
succoured
by colonel
Maitland.

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cans attempted to molest them during the subsequent siege of Savannah.

The safe arrival of so considerable a reinforcement, and that too of chosen troops, but above all, the presence of the officer who commanded them, in whose zeal, ability, and military experience so much confidence was deservedly placed by the army, inspired the garrison of Savannah with new animation : An answer was returned to the count d'Estaing, that the town would be defended to the last extremity : The zeal and ardour of both the officers and men were, if possible, increased ; and new defences were daily constructed under the judicious eye and masterly direction of that able engineer, captain Moncrieff.

October.
The combined armies of France and America besiege Savannah.

After the arrival of general Lincoln with the American army, some time was required for landing and bringing up the heavy artillery from the ships, which, on account of their distance from the shore, and a scarcity of horses and carriages, was a work of considerable labour and difficulty. Retarded by such impediments, the combined armies of French and Americans did not begin to break ground for the purpose of carrying on their approaches until the twenty-third of September, nor were their batteries ready to open until the fourth of the following month. During this interval, attempts were made to interrupt their operations by two different sorties ; the first of which, under major Graham of the sixteenth regiment, reached the lines of the enemy, and threw them into confusion ; and when this detachment retired, it was incautiously pursued so close to the British lines, that the confederates in their retreat lost a great number of men, by a well-directed fire from the works. The other sortie under major M^cArthur, was so artfully conducted, that it produced

produced a firing between the French and American camps. CHAP.
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On the morning of the fourth of October the batteries of the besiegers having opened with a discharge from fifty-three pieces of heavy cannon and fourteen mortars, a request was made by general Prevost that the women and children might be permitted to leave the town and embark on board vessels in the river, which should be placed under the protection of the count d'Estaing, and wait the issue of the siege: But this proposal, dictated by humanity, was rejected with insult. Fortunately, however, for the inhabitants as well as the garrison, although an incessant cannonade from so many pieces of artillery, was continued from the fourth to the ninth of October, less injury was done to the houses in the town than might have been expected; few lives were lost, and the defences were in no respect materially damaged.

The French troops landed from the ships amounted to about five thousand men, and no doubt being entertained amongst the Americans of the fall of Savannah, the militia poured in as to a certain triumph, and joined general Lincoln in such numbers, that the combined armies, it is said, amounted to more than ten thousand men. The force in Savannah, under general Prevost, did not exceed two thousand five hundred of all sorts, regulars, provincial corps, seamen, militia, and volunteers. But the disparity in numbers was in some degree compensated by the extraordinary zeal and ardour which animated the besieged, from the commander in chief down to the humble African, whose incessant and cheerful labours, in rearing those numerous defences which were completed with so much expedition as to astonish the besiegers, ought not to be forgotten in

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in a history of this memorable siege. When the French were first landed, not more than ten or twelve pieces of artillery appeared upon the fortifications at Savannah: But so incessantly did the garrison labour in strengthening and enlarging the old works, and in erecting new redoubts and batteries, that before the conclusion of the siege near one hundred pieces of cannon were mounted.

The town of Savannah being situated upon the southern bank of the river of that name, had two of its sides secured by natural boundaries, one by the river behind it, and the other by a thick swamp and woody morass communicating with the river above the town. The other two sides were originally open towards the country, which in front of them for several miles was level and entirely cleared of wood: But they were by this time covered with artificial works, the right and left being defended by redoubts, and the centre by seamen's batteries in front, with impalements and traverses thrown up behind to protect the troops from the fire of the besiegers; and the whole extent of the works was surrounded with an abatis. The redoubts on the right towards the swamp were three in number: That in the centre was garrisoned by two companies of militia, with the North Carolina regiment to support them, under the command of lieutenant colonel Hamilton. Captains Roworth and Wylie, with the provincial corps of king's rangers, were posted in the redoubt on the right; and captain Tawse, with his corps of provincial dragoons dismounted, in that on the left, called the Springhill Redoubt, supported by the South Carolina regiment. To the right of the whole was a sailors battery of nine-pounders, covered by a company of the British legion, under the command of captain.

captain Stewart; and between the centre and Springhill redoubt, was another of these batteries, under the direction of captain Manby, behind which were posted the grenadiers of the sixtieth regiment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Glazier with the marines which had been landed from the ships of war. And the whole of this force on the right of the lines was under the command of lieutenant-colonel Maitland. On the left of the lines were two redoubts strongly constructed with a massy frame-work of green spongy wood filled up with sand and mounted with heavy cannon, one of them commanded by lieutenant-colonel Cruger, and the other by major Wright, having under him the Georgia loyalists. Behind the impalements and traverses in the centre of the works were posted the two battalions of the seventy-first regiment, two regiments of Hessians, the New York volunteers, a battalion of Skinner's brigade, one of Delancey's, and the light infantry of the army under the command of major Graham; all which corps were ready to act as circumstances should require, and to support any part of the lines that might be attacked.

Such was the state of the works at Savannah, and such the position of the troops for its defence, at the time when the count d'Estaing, grown impatient under the unexpected resistance which he had met with, resolved to discontinue his regular approaches, and storm the British entrenchments. He had already spent more time before Savannah, without having made any sensible impression upon the garrison, than he had assigned for the completion of the whole enterprise. His fleet, lying at anchor in the open sea, was exposed to the danger of being driven off the coast, at this late season of the year, by tempestuous weather, and leaving him and his troops behind: But this danger

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danger was nothing, compared to what might have been apprehended had the British fleet followed him from the West Indies, and made an attack upon his ships whilst they were weakened by the number of men and guns that had been landed for carrying on the siege of Savannah. These considerations, the force of which was heightened by a joint representation from his naval officers, added to the natural impatience of temper which characterised the count d'Estaing, determined him to risque an assault under all its present disadvantages, rather than waste longer time in carrying on the siege by regular approaches. To facilitate the success of the enterprise, an officer with five men, on the eighth of October, advanced under a heavy fire from the garrison, and kindled the abbatis; but the dampness of the air, and the moisture of the green wood of which the abbatis was composed, soon extinguished the flames.

Attack the
British
lines.

The morning of the ninth of October was fixed upon for making the assault; and two feigned attacks by the militia were to draw the attention of the besieged to their centre and left, whilst a strong body of chosen troops from the combined armies should advance on the right of the British lines, and in two columns make the real attack. The principal of these columns was commanded by the count d'Estaing in person, assisted by general Lincoln, and was destined to attack the Springhill redoubt in front, whilst the other column, commanded by count Dillon, should silently move along the edge of the swamp, pass the redoubts and batteries, and get into the rear of the British lines. The troops which composed these two columns consisted of three thousand five hundred French, six hundred provincial regulars, and three hundred and fifty of the Charlestown militia, a number more than double that of the whole

whole British garrison, and were in motion long before day-light. Fortunately the column commanded by count Dillon mistook its way, from the darkness of the morning, and was entangled in the swamp, from which it was unable to extricate itself until broad day-light appeared, and exposed it to the view of the garrison and the fire from the British batteries. This was so hot, and so well directed, that it was never able even to form, and far less, by penetrating into the rear of the British lines, to accomplish its original object. In the mean time the column led by the count d'Estaing advanced against the Springhill redoubt, just as daylight appeared: And such was the darkness of the morning, that it had approached very near before it was discernible. But, as soon as it was discovered, it became exposed to a continual blaze of musquetry from the redoubt, and to a destructive cross fire from the adjoining batteries, which mowed down whole ranks of the allies as they advanced. From the numbers which fell, the head of the column was several times thrown into confusion; but their places being instantly supplied by others, it still moved on until it reached the redoubt, where the contest became more fierce and desperate. The brave captain Tawse fell in defending the gate of his redoubt with his sword plunged in the body of the third enemy he had slain with his own hand, and a French and American standard were for an instant planted upon the parapet. The conflict for the possession of the redoubt nevertheless continued to be obstinately maintained on both sides, and the event remained in suspense; when lieutenant-colonel Maitland, seizing the critical moment, ordered the grenadiers of the sixtieth regiment, with the marines, to move forward and charge the enemy's column, already staggering under the obstinate resistance

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1779.

Repulsed
with considerable loss.

it had met with at the redoubt, the slaughter which had been made by the artillery from the different batteries, and now also from the Germaine armed brig. This well-timed movement decided the fate of the attack. The assailants were repulsed, driven out of the ditch of the redoubt, and routed with redoubled slaughter, leaving behind them, in killed and wounded six hundred and thirty-seven of the French troops, and two hundred and sixty-four of the Americans. No pursuit was ordered, because the besiegers, although they had suffered greatly in the assault, were still three times more numerous than the garrison; but in their flight, as in advancing, they were exposed to a heavy fire from the British artillery, which was well served under the direction of captain Charlton.

In this assault count Pulaski, who commanded an American corps, received a mortal wound; and the count d'Estaing, who was seen by the garrison to behave with great gallantry, was wounded in two places, but in neither of them dangerously.

No good agreement, it has been said, subsisted between the French and Americans from the commencement of the siege; and their mutual dislike was now increased by their disappointment. After the assault the French could no longer conceal their contempt for their new allies; they styled them insurgents, in common conversation, and even in written memorials. But the haughty demeanour of the count d'Estaing towards the garrison seems to have been softened by his misfortunes: An apology was made for refusing leave to the women and children to retire to a place of safety, the blame of which was laid upon the Americans, and an offer was now made for their accommodation. This offer came too late

to

to be accepted, especially after a previous insulting refusal of what was now tendered; and it was with great propriety rejected by general Prevost.

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1770.

Raise the
siege.

The issue of the assault determined that of the siege. The French and Americans kept possession of their lines only until the artillery and heavy baggage were withdrawn, and re-embarked on board the fleet. As soon as this was accomplished the siege was raised, and the allies separated, the Americans retreating into South Carolina, and the French returning to their ships; on board which they had scarcely embarked when their fleet was dispersed by a storm. The count d'Estaing, with part of the ships, returned to France, and the rest proceeded to the West Indies.

Such was the termination of the siege of Savannah, during which it is said that the allied armies lost in killed, wounded, and by desertion, more than one thousand five hundred men; whereas the loss of the garrison in the whole did not exceed one hundred and twenty.

It is impossible to do particular justice to all who by their exertions contributed to the successful issue of the siege. The officers, naval and military, vied with each other who should render the most essential services to their king and country. The seamen and soldiers were animated with the same sentiment; and no small share of praise is due to the former for their brave assistance and peculiar adroitness in managing the artillery at the batteries. The cool, steady, prudent, and firm conduct of general Prevost, assisted by the able counsels and services of that distinguished officer lieutenant-colonel Maitland, the second in command, who in a peculiar degree enjoyed the love, esteem, and confidence of the garrison; the skilful designs, prompt execution, and indefatigable exertions of captain Moncrieff in his department

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1779.

as commanding engineer; the active and able services of captain Charlton of the artillery; the wise precautions taken by captain Henry of the navy for the security of the river; the tried courage, manly firmness, and obstinate resistance of the provincial regiments and militia on the right of the lines, to whose lot it fell to bear, and nobly to withstand, the fury of the assault; and the bold, decisive, and irresistible charge made by lieutenant-colonel Glazier with the grenadiers and marines, which completed the overthrow of the enemy; are all deserving of the highest commendation, and rank the successful defence of Savannah amongst the most brilliant achievements of the war.

One circumstance alone served to cloud the joy of the garrison on their recent success. This was the death of that highly-esteemed and much beloved officer the honourable lieutenant-colonel Maitland, who fell a martyr to a bilious disorder contracted from the pestilential vapours which arise from the marshes during the hot and sultry season in that unwholesome climate. He was attacked by it before he left Beaufort. It gathered strength in his route through the marshes to Savannah, and, preying upon him during the siege, soon afterwards put a period to the existence of this gallant officer; whose memory will be dear to Britons, so long as manly fortitude, unstained honour, and highly-improved military talents, are held in estimation.

The campaign to the southward of North America concluded.

With the raising of the siege of Savannah ended the campaign to the southward, which, although it closed with an achievement so honourable to the British arms, was nevertheless unproductive of those advantages which had been expected at the commencement of it.

The

The campaign in the other parts of America was spent in desultory operations and partial expeditions, the object of which seems to have been to distract the attention of the Americans by their multiplicity, and to weaken them by cutting off their resources, and destroying their magazines of naval and military stores.

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1779.
Campaign
in the other
parts of the
North Ame-
rican conti-
nent spent
in desultory
operations.
Naval ope-
rations of
sir G. Col-
lier.

Admiral Gambier, who succeeded lord Howe in the command of the British fleet on the American coast, was recalled in the spring of the present year, and in the month of April resigned the command to sir George Collier. This brave and zealous officer, who now succeeded to the command of the British navy in North America, had been employed on the Halifax station from the commencement of the war. In the Rainbow of forty-four guns he made one of a convoy which escorted a fleet of transports with the first division of the Hessian troops, and a detachment of the guards, to America, in the year 1776. This fleet arrived at Sandy Hook in August of that year, a little before general Howe began his operations against the provincials; and soon after their defeat on Long Island sir George Collier received orders to repair to Halifax and take the command of his majesty's ships upon that important station, in the room of commodore Arbuthnot, who was recalled. On this station he continued until the spring of the present year, and during the whole time of his command distinguished himself as a brave, zealous, active, enterprising, and vigilant officer. The timely relief of Fort Cumberland, at the head of the bay of Fundy, which was invested by the provincials from the eastern parts of Massachusetts Bay, soon after his arrival at Halifax: The capture of the Hancock of thirty-four guns and two hundred and ninety men, commanded by commodore Manley, the largest of a
fleet

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fleet of ships of war which were fitted out at Boston to annoy the trade on the coast of Nova Scotia, and the British fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland: The driving off and dispersing the provincials, who in small vessels had a second time made a descent near St. John's River in Nova Scotia; and, at a subsequent period, the destruction of the provisions, clothing, and military stores, which with great pains they had collected at Machias, in the eastern parts of Massachusetts Bay, for accomplishing their favourite object, the invasion of Nova Scotia; and in the destruction of these stores, the defeating the designs of the Americans against that province: The scouring of the eastern coasts of New England with his cruisers, keeping them in a constant state of alarm, and taking their privateers, running up their rivers with his ships, appearing before their towns and shewing the practicability of a bombardment in case their hostile conduct should demand such a punishment, and thereby convincing them that it was their interest to be quiet, and not farther molest the peaceable inhabitants of Nova Scotia: The number of prizes carried into Halifax, and of British vessels retaken from the enemy when they were upon the point of carrying them into their own ports: The trade of Nova Scotia protected, and the fishery in the gut of Canis secured against molestation: These are but a few of the many meritorious services performed by this officer during his command at Halifax, for which, on more than one occasion, he received the thanks of the colony conveyed to him through the governor, counsel, and assembly.

From such a line of useful and active service Sir George was called to New York to take the command of the British fleet on the North American station; and not long after his arrival an expedition

tion to the Chesapeak in Virginia, was concerted between him and sir Henry Clinton, the commander in chief of the army. By the exports of tobacco from the Chesapeak, the credit of congress with foreign nations was principally, if not wholly, supported; and by the inland navigation of that bay large quantities of salted provisions, the produce both of Virginia and North Carolina, were conveyed to the middle colonies for the subsistence of the American army. The establishment of a permanent post in Virginia, in such a situation as to obstruct the commerce of the Chesapeak, both foreign and domestic, was an object of the utmost importance. But the feeble state of the army would not admit of a sufficient force to be detached for that purpose. A desultory expedition to interrupt the commerce of the bay for a few weeks, and to destroy such magazines, whether of provisions, merchandise, or naval and military stores, as were accessible, was all the commander in chief, under the present situation of affairs, could consent to. A detachment from the army, consisting of the grenadiers and light infantry of the guards, the forty-second regiment, a regiment of Hessians, and the royal volunteers of Ireland, with a detachment of artillery, amounting in the whole to one thousand eight hundred men, under the command of brigadier-general Matthew, was assigned for this purpose, and embarked on board transports. The commodore, in the *Raisonable* of sixty-four guns, attended by the *Rainbow*, *Otter*, *Diligent*, *Haarlem* sloop, and *Cornwallis* galley, and some private vessels of war, undertook to convey them, and to conduct in person the naval part of the expedition. The troops being embarked, the fleet, with a favourable wind, passed the bar at Sandy Hook on the fifth, and entered between the Capes of Virginia on the eighth of May. The *Otter* sloop

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sloop, with the privateers, was immediately sent up the Chesapeake, and the rest of the fleet, with the transports, on the following morning proceeded to Hampton Road, a large basin of water formed by the confluence of Elizabeth, Nansemond, and James rivers. Some miles above its mouth Elizabeth River is separated into two branches, one called the eastern, and the other the western branch, and below the confluence of these branches, on the eastern side, once stood Norfolk, the principal commercial town in Virginia, and opposite to it, on the western side, Portsmouth, a place of some trade, which, although not equal to Norfolk, was annually increasing, and in time threatened to rival it. A little above these, upon a point of land intervening between two of the branches of the river, was Gosport, where the government of Virginia, since the commencement of the war, had established a marine yard, and collected an immense quantity of timber for ship building. As a defence for this yard and the adjoining docks, they had with great labour and expence constructed a fort upon the bank of the river, about half a mile below Portsmouth, which towards the water was already finished and mounted with cannon; the walls of which consisted of an outward case of logs of timber strongly dove-tailed together, with the intermediate space filled up with hard-rammed earth, being fourteen feet in height, and fifteen feet thick.

Portsmouth was the place which the commanders on this expedition proposed to occupy; and the reduction of the fort was of course the first thing to be attempted. As the *Raisonable*, from her great draught of water, could proceed no higher than Hampton Road, the commodore shifted his broad pennant on board the *Renown*; and on the morning of the thirteenth of October the whole

whole fleet, except the *Raisonable*, got under way, and entered the mouth of Elizabeth River. The ebbing of the tide soon obliged the ships to come to an anchor, but the troops being embarked on board the boats, proceeded, and effected a landing under cover of the Cornwallis galley, and some gun-boats, about three miles below the fort, at a place called the Glebe, the first division at two in the afternoon and the second before sun-set. No opposition was made to their landing, except an ineffectual cannonade from the fort, which was too distant to do any mischief. It was proposed that the troops should, on the following morning, storm the fort on the land side, where the fortifications were yet unfinished, whilst the *Rainbow* should move up and batter it from the water: But a forward movement of the troops having been made that same evening as soon as the second division had landed, the provincial garrison, fearful of being surrounded, and having their retreat cut off, hastily evacuated the fort, leaving behind all the artillery, ammunition, baggage and stores. Such was their trepidation, that they did not even wait to strike the American flag, but left it flying. General Matthew having thus easily possessed himself of the fort, took a strong position with the army between Portsmouth and the country, the right wing reaching to the fort, the left to the south branch of Elizabeth River, and the centre covered in front by an impenetrable swamp. Detachments were sent to Norfolk and Gosport; and all the vessels in Elizabeth River, except such as were burnt by the provincials before their retreat, with an immense quantity of naval and military stores, merchandise, and provisions, were either taken or destroyed by the British troops. Detachments were also sent to Kemp's Landing, in Princess Ann country, and to the town of Suffolk in Nansemond

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lemond county, and at each of these places, particularly the latter, an immense quantity of provisions and stores of all sorts, with some vessels richly laden, were either taken or destroyed.

The Otter sloop, and the privateers which went up the Chesapeake, were also successful, and took a number of prizes. In the mean time the fort was demolished, and the marine yard burnt, with all the timber it contained. These services being performed, the troops were re-embarked; and the whole fleet, with the prizes, having quitted Virginia, arrived at New York before the end of the month, having been absent only twenty-four days. The damage done to the provincials was astonishingly great, and has been estimated at half a million sterling. The Americans themselves, before their flight from Portsmouth, set fire to a ship of war of twenty-eight guns belonging to congress, and ready for launching; and also to two French merchantmen in the river, one loaded with bale goods, and the other with a thousand hogheads of tobacco. Besides these, eight other ships of war, in different forwardness upon the stocks, and several merchantmen were burnt by the British troops; and exclusively of all other losses, the number of vessels alone which were taken or destroyed, during this short expedition, amounted to one hundred and thirty-seven.

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Reduction of two strong Posts on Hudson's River—Expedition against Connecticut—Ravages - Murmurs in Connecticut—Fort Stoney Point surprised by General Wayne—Stoney Point evacuated by the Americans—Again possessed by the British—British Settlement in Penobscot—Attacked in vain by the Americans—Reinforcement brought to the British Army by Admiral Arbutnot, who succeeds Sir George Collier in the Command of the Navy—American Incursions into the Country of the Indians—Incursions of the Indians into the American Settlements.

PREVIOUSLY to the arrival of the fleet from Virginia, sir Henry Clinton had made preparations for attacking two strong posts on Hudson's River, about sixty miles above New York, which the provincials were then fortifying. These were the important posts of Verplank's Neck and Stoney Point, on opposite sides of the river, commanding the passage at King's Ferry, which was the most direct and convenient course of communication between the northern and middle colonies. To gain these posts was an object of some consequence, as, by the loss of them, the provincials, in order to maintain an intercourse between the provincials on the east and west sides of Hudson's River, would be obliged to make a circuit of more than sixty miles through the mountains. A detachment from the army at New York was already

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ready embarked on board of transports, and these being joined by the transports with the troops from Virginia, the whole, on the thirtieth of May, proceeded up the North River, under the direction of sir George Collier, who, as well as the commander in chief of the army, accompanied this expedition. The principal division of the army, under major-general Vaughan, was landed on the eastern side of the river, about seven miles below Fort Fayette, on Verplank's Neck, and the commander in chief, with the other, proceeded onward within three miles of Stoney Point, where, on the western side of the river, that division was landed also. Stoney Point, by its high and commanding situation, is a place of great natural strength; but, as the works were yet unfinished, the provincials were afraid to risque an assault, and quitted it as soon as the British fleet appeared in view, having first set fire to a block-house which they were constructing upon the summit of the eminence. It was taken possession of towards the evening, and some heavy cannon and mortars were immediately landed from the fleet. These were with much labour dragged up the hill during the night; and such expedition was used under the direction of major-general Pattison, of the artillery, to whom this service was committed, that, by five the next morning, a battery of cannon and mortars from the summit of Stoney Point opened upon Fort Fayette on the opposite side of the river. Fort Fayette was a small but complete work, inclosed with pallisades, a double ditch, chevaux de frize, and abatis, and had a block-house in the centre, which was bomb-proof; but as it was commanded by the superior height of Stoney Point, the cannonade from the latter, as well as from the galleys and armed vessels upon the river, soon made a sensible

sensible impression. During the cannonade it was in-
 vested by general Vaughan on the side towards the
 country, and the galleys being so stationed as to
 prevent an escape by water, the garrison, surroun-
 ded in every quarter, surrendered as prisoners
 of war, without stipulating for any other condi-
 tion than a promise of good usage. And thus
 these two important posts were gained with the
 trifling loss of only one man wounded. Orders
 were given for completing the fortifications at
 Stoney Point; and garrisons having been appoint-
 ed for both the forts, the fleet, with the rest of
 the troops, fell down the river, and returned to
 New York.

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Soon afterwards an expedition was planned
 against the province of Connecticut, which,
 abounding with men as well as provisions, was a
 principal support to the American army. One
 purpose of this expedition was to convince the
 people of Connecticut that their province was
 not inaccessible, and that it was owing only to the
 forbearance of the British government, which ra-
 ther wished to reclaim than to punish, that their
 country had not experienced the calamities and
 devastations of war; and another object was, to
 oblige general Washington to quit his strong situ-
 ation upon the North River, and descend into the
 low country for the defence of the sea-coast. On
 the fourth of July the transports, with the troops
 destined for this expedition, which amounted to
 two thousand six hundred men, weighed anchor
 at the entrance into the sound, and proceeded to-
 wards New Haven, the capital of Connecticut.
 The command of the land force was given to
 major-general Tryon; and the commodore, in
 the Camilla frigate, accompanied by the Scorpion
 sloop, Halifax brig, and Hussar galley, escorted
 the transports, and took upon himself their direc-
 tion.

Expedition
 against
 Connecti-
 cut.

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tion. At some distance below the town of New Haven, brigadier-general Garth, of the Guards, disembarked with the first division of troops, and notwithstanding a continued opposition from the inhabitants during a march of seven miles, which he was obliged to make in order to pass the head of a creek, he at last forced his way and took possession of the town. Major-general Tryon, with the second division of the troops, landed on the opposite side of the harbour, and took possession of a fort upon the heights, by the guns of which the harbour was commanded. A communication was opened between the two divisions of the army; and brigadier-general Garth remained in possession of the town during the night. All the artillery, ammunition, and public stores, and all the vessels in the harbour, were either taken or destroyed; but the town itself was saved, and private houses as much as possible exempted from plunder. This was a degree of lenity which the conduct of the inhabitants scarcely merited; for besides the opposition made to the troops in their march to the town, they were annoyed from the windows, even after they had possession of it; and several of the centinels placed at private houses to prevent plunder were wounded upon their posts. On the following day, after a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to return to their allegiance, in which case they were promised protection, support, and encouragement, and denouncing vengeance and punishment if they should still persist in a rebellious opposition to the mother-country, had been distributed, and after the fort was dismantled, the troops were re-embarked and left New Haven.

From New Haven the fleet proceeded to Fair-
filed, where the troops were again landed. Here a
resistance and opposition were experienced more
obstinate

obstinate and inveterate than at New Haven: And as the lenity and forbearance shewn at the last of these places seemed to have produced no effect, the present was thought a fit moment to give an example of severity. At Fairfield not only the public stores of all forts, with the vessels in the harbour, were either taken or destroyed, but the town itself was laid in ashes. As the fleet and troops proceeded in fulfilling the purposes of the expedition, the opposition which they met with seemed to increase with the extent of their progress: Norwalk, therefore, and Greenfield, at each of which places the troops were successively landed, shared the same fate as the town of Fairfield. A descent at New London, which was a rendezvous for privateers, was the ultimate object of the expedition; but as a greater opposition was expected there than at either of the other places, it was thought necessary to obtain a further supply of ammunition and a reinforcement of troops before they made the attempt*. For this purpose the fleet returned to Huntington Bay in Long Island, and the commodore proceeded to Frog's Neck, to confer with the commander in chief of the army on the subject of their future operations.

During this short expedition, which had lasted only nine days, the injury sustained by the inhabitants of Connecticut in the loss of property both public and private, was very considerable: But notwithstanding the conflagration of so many towns on the sea-coast, general Washington could not be prevailed upon to abandon his strong situation in the neighbourhood of the North River. His apparent apathy, and that of the congress,

* The loss of the British troops in this expedition was 20 killed, 96 wounded, and 32 missing.

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with respect to Connecticut, produced murmurs amongst the inhabitants, which at length broke forth into open complaints. Some of the principal inhabitants, considering protection and allegiance to be reciprocal duties, began to think of withdrawing their subjection from a power which seemed to neglect them in their distress, and of making terms with the British commanders for themselves. Such certainly was the import of the intelligence from Connecticut communicated to Sir Henry Clinton, about the present period; and the conference between him and the commodore at Frog's Neck, was on the subject of this intelligence, and with a view of arranging matters, so that the intended expedition against New London might serve to impress the inhabitants more strongly with those sentiments which they had already begun to entertain.

But, whilst the British commanders were thus devising measures for improving the disposition which had manifested itself in Connecticut, General Washington had already achieved an enterprise which disconcerted all their present designs against that province, and called their attention to a different quarter. This was the surprise of the fort at Stoney Point, which was taken by assault in the night of the fifteenth of July. As the Americans had been but lately dispossessed of this post, it is presumable that they were well acquainted with all the accessible approaches which led to it, as well as with those parts of the works which were most assailable. But even with these advantages it was an enterprise of difficulty and danger; and the American general Wayne, who conducted it, deserved great praise for his gallantry and good conduct, as did the troops which he commanded for their bravery. These being divided into two columns, entered the works in opposite quarters, and

and met in the centre of them about one in the morning of the sixteenth of July. The surprise

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was not so complete but that resistance was made; and the loss in killed and wounded was nearly equal on both sides. Lieutenant-colonel Johnson of the seventeenth regiment commanded the British garrison, which consisted of the seventeenth regiment, the grenadier company of the seventy-first, a company of the regiment of loyal Americans, and a detachment of artillery, amounting in the whole to about six hundred men. Of these one hundred and fifty-two were either killed or wounded, and the rest, with their commander, were made prisoners. The force under general Wayne has not been ascertained; but, from the number of corps of which it consisted, it may be supposed to have amounted to fifteen hundred, all of them chosen men.

The conduct of the Americans upon this occasion was highly meritorious; for they would have been fully justified in putting the garrison to the sword: Not one man of which was put to death but in fair combat. Colonel Johnson's conduct was most deservedly and justly censured.

The plan formed by general Washington for these operations on the North River comprehended Fort Fayette as well as Stoney Point. Both were to have been attacked the same night; but the detachment under the American general How, which was sent against Fort Fayette, did not arrive in time. Still, however, it was advancing; and, to favour the attack, general Wayne, as soon as he possessed himself of Stoney Point, turned the cannon of that garrison against Fort Fayette, where lieutenant-colonel Webster commanded, with a garrison consisting of the thirty-third regiment, part of the regiment of loyal

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XXXI. regiment, and another of royal artillery.

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Stoney
Point evacuated by
the Americans.

Again possessed by the
British.

Intelligence of the capture of Stoney Point, and the danger of Fort Fayette on Verplank's Neck, having been brought to sir Henry Clinton just after his conference with sir George Collier, the expedition against New London was for the present laid aside, the transports and troops were recalled from the Sound, and the army made a forward movement to Dobb's Ferry, on the North River. Brigadier-general Stirling, with a detachment, was sent up the river in transports, to the assistance of lieutenant colonel Webster: and the commander in chief, with a greater force, soon afterwards followed, from an expectation that general Washington might be tempted to quit his fastnesses, and risque an engagement for the possession of Stoney Point. But this was not general Washington's intention; and therefore, when intelligence was received of a British reinforcement advancing up the North River, orders were given for evacuating Stoney Point, which was done after as many of the works had been destroyed as the time would permit. In the mean time lieutenant-colonel Webster defended his post on Verplank's Neck with prudence and bravery. To the cannonade from Stoney Point he returned not a shot, as it would have been useless and ineffectual: But, against the provincials under general How, who were advancing to attack him on the other side, every effort was made that could prevent their success; and, before they were able to make any impression upon the fort, the arrival of brigadier-general Stirling with his detachment, put an end to their hopes, and obliged them to retreat. The post at Stoney Point was again taken possession of; and upon the arrival of the commander in chief, orders were issued for repairing the works.

A larger

A larger garrison was assigned for its defence, and brigadier-general Stirling was appointed to command it. As it was now apparent that general Washington did not mean to quit his secure position in the high lands for the sake of contesting the possession of Stoney Point, the transports were ordered to fall down the river, and the troops returned to their former quarters.

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Scarcely had sir George Collier reached New York, on his return from accompanying sir Henry Clinton upon this expedition, when he received intelligence that a fleet of armed vessels, with transports and troops, had sailed from Boston to attack a British post, which general Maclean was then endeavouring to establish at Penobscot, in the eastern part of the province of Massachusetts Bay. Orders were immediately issued for getting in readiness such of his Majesty's ships as were then at New York; and on the third of August the commodore in the *Raisonable*, accompanied by the *Greyhound*, *Blonde*, *Virginia*, *Camilla*, *Galatea*, and *Otter* sloop, sailed from thence for the relief of the garrison at Penobscot.

In the month of June general Francis Maclean, who commanded the king's troops in Nova Scotia, with a detachment of six hundred and fifty men from the seventy-fourth and eighty-second regiments, embarked in transports, and, escorted by three sloops of war, arrived in the bay of Penobscot, in order to form a settlement, and establish a post which might not only serve to check the incursions of the provincials into Nova Scotia, but be the means of obtaining a constant supply of ship timber, with which the neighbouring country abounded, for the use of the king's yards at Halifax and other places. The bay of Penobscot is about seven leagues in breadth at the mouth, and seventeen leagues in length, terminating

British settlement in Penobscot.

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nating where the river Penobscot empties itself into the head of it; and the lands all round were then covered with wood, scarcely any settlements having been made upon them. About nine miles below the mouth of Penobscot river, on the eastern side of the bay, is a small but convenient harbour, which still retains its ancient Indian name of Majabagaduce; and a peninsula, or point of land, forming one side of that harbour, was the spot fixed upon by general Maclean for erecting a fort to protect the settlement. The land was first to be cleared of the wood that grew upon it, which was a work of great labour and difficulty. This being done, the outlines of a fort were marked out, which was intended to be of a square form, with a bastion at each angle, inclosing a space of ground capacious enough to admit of a cavalier or block house in the centre, with barracks for the men, and apartments for the officers; and every exertion was made to get this work in forwardness, which was to serve for their future defence.

In the mean time, intelligence of what was doing at Penobscot having been carried to Boston, the executive government of Massachusetts Bay determined to fit out an armament with the utmost dispatch, in order to obstruct or finally ruin the settlement. An embargo was immediately laid upon all the shipping in Boston harbour, and bounties were offered to such persons as would engage in the Penobscot expedition. By such means a squadron was soon got in readiness, which consisted of nineteen armed ships and brigantines, the largest carrying thirty-two, and the smallest ten guns. To these were added twenty-seven transports, having on board three thousand troops; the fleet being under the direction of commodore Saltonstall, and the troops under the command

command of general Lovel. Against so considerable a force it was thought that general Maclean, with his handful of men, could not long defend himself: And upon the departure of the fleet, his surrender, and the ruin of the settlement, were considered by the people of Massachusetts Bay as events, of the completion of which no doubt could be reasonably entertained.

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Intelligence of the sailing of this armament was brought to general Maclean on the twenty first of July, only four days before its arrival at Penobscot. All that time, two of the bastions of the intended fort were not begun, and the other two, with the curtains, were in no part above five feet in height, and twelve in thickness. The ditch in most parts was not more than three feet deep; no platform was laid, nor any artillery mounted. But upon the arrival of this alarming intelligence, all present thoughts of finishing the fort were laid aside, and the troops were employed day and night on such works as were immediately necessary to secure them against an assault; a mode of attack which they had the greatest reason to apprehend would be pursued by the enemy, in consequence of their very superior force.

Although the provincials arrived in the bay of Penobscot on the twenty-fifth of July, they were unable to effect a landing until the twenty-eighth. The three sloops of war, under the direction of captain Mowat, being so stationed as to command the mouth of the harbour, prevented the provincial fleet from entering and effecting a landing on that side of the peninsula; and on the other side the natural steepness and ruggedness of the shore rendered it an enterprise of difficulty and danger. At length, however they effected their purpose before day in the morning of the twenty-eighth, at a place which had been thought inaccessible; and

attacked in
vain by the
Americans.

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and on the thirtieth opened a battery against the works, at the distance of seven hundred and fifty yards. From the incessant labour of the garrison, during the interval between the twenty-first and thirtieth of July, the gorge of one of the unfinished bastions was filled up with logs of timber; and the other, containing the well which supplied the garrison with water, was surrounded with a work of fascines and earth, ten feet thick; platforms were laid, and artillery mounted; a sort of chevaux de frise was carried round the fort; and the whole inclosed with an abbatiss; so that by the time the enemy had opened their battery, general Maclean and his garrison thought themselves tolerably prepared to resist an assault. The enemy's fleet made frequent attempts to enter the harbour, but were constantly repulsed by the fire from the ships of war, and a battery erected to support them on shore. The provincial land force, nevertheless, continued to make approaches, and erect new batteries; and a brisk cannonade was kept up between them and the garrison for near a fortnight. Frequent skirmishes too happened without the fort, the garrison being under the necessity of preserving a communication with the shipping and battery which covered it. On the twelfth of August intelligence was conveyed to general Maclean by a deserter, that on the following day an assault was to be made on the fort, and an attack upon the ships of war at the same time; and every necessary preparation was made by the general for repelling them. But the approach of the squadron under sir George Collier, as it afterwards appeared, prevented the provincials from executing their intention; and, on the morning of the fourteenth, the garrison, to their great surprise, discovered that the works had been evacuated during the preceding night, and that the provincial

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cial troops, with the greatest part of the cannon, were re-embarked on board the ships. The cause of this sudden retreat was then unknown to the garrison; but by ten in the forenoon the appearance of the British Squadron standing up the bay quickly unveiled the mystery. The provincial fleet appeared to be in disorder; and for some time the commanders seemed undetermined what to do. At length an ignominious flight took place; every one endeavouring to provide for his own safety, and none daring to wait the shock of the British Squadron. Two of the provincial armed ships endeavoured to get to sea by passing round Long Island, which lies in the middle of the bay; but they were soon intercepted, the first being taken, and the other run a-shore and blown up by her crew. The rest of their fleet, with the transports, fled in the utmost confusion to the head of the bay, and entered the mouth of Penobscot river. They were pursued by the British Squadron. By this disgraceful flight the provincials became exposed to a danger almost as great as that which they had escaped. They were landed in a wild uncultivated country, without provisions or any other necessaries, and had to explore their way for more than an hundred miles through this pathless desert before they could reach a place from which supplies might be obtained. In this forlorn and destitute situation mutual reproaches passed between the seamen and landsmen; and each accused the other of being the cause of their present misfortunes. A battle ensued, in which fifty or sixty were slain; and a much greater number, exhausted with famine and fatigue, before they could reach the settled parts of the province, perished miserably in the woods. Such was the issue of the provincial expedition against the British settlement at Penobscot; for the successful

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Reinforce-
ment
brought to
the British
army by
admiral Ar-
buthnot,
who suc-
ceeds sir
G. Collier
in the com-
mand of the
navy.

cessful defence of which, under so many disadvantages, general Maclean is entitled to the greatest praise. And in the progress and issue of this expedition, we see how much may be effected by a very inconsiderable force, when British officers act with zeal and unanimity in the service of their king and country*.

The relief of the garrison at Penobscot, with the total destruction of the naval armament that had been sent against it, was the last of those meritorious services performed by sir George Collier during the short but active period in which he had the command of the British fleet on the coast of North America. On his return to New York he found himself superseded by the arrival of admiral Arbuthnot from England with some ships of war and a fleet of transports, bringing a reinforcement of troops, and a supply of provisions and stores. To the admiral he resigned the command, and soon afterwards embarked for England.

The reinforcement brought by admiral Arbuthnot had been long and impatiently expected by sir Henry Clinton, who, from the feeble state of the army, was unable, until its arrival, to engage in any enterprise of importance. Although

* The loss of the garrison amounted to 70, killed, wounded, and missing. The loss on board the fleet was 15 killed and wounded.

The American fleet taken or destroyed on this expedition was as follows:—

Warren of 32 guns, 18 and 12 pounders. Monmouth 24. Vengeance 24. Putnam 22. Sally 22, blown up. Hampden 20 guns, taken. Hector 20, blown up. Hunter, 18, taken. Black Prince 18; and Sky Rocket 16; blown up.

Brigs—Active 16 guns; Defence 16; Hazard 16; Diligence 14; Tyrannicide 14; Providence sloop 14; blown up. Spring Bird 12, burnt. Nancy 16, Rover 10, taken. Together with 24 sail of ships and vessels, as transports, all burnt.

it was now late, the season for action was not yet entirely over; but the appearance of the count d'Estaing with his formidable fleet on the coast of Georgia, intelligence of which, as well as of his threatened attack against New York, was brought about this time, obliged the commander in chief to give up all thoughts of offensive operations during the remainder of the campaign, and to concentrate his force, that he might be prepared to meet the shock which he was to expect from a combined attack of the French by sea and the Americans by land. In this view Rhode Island was evacuated, and the garrison withdrawn to New York. And in this respect alone, by obliging sir Henry Clinton to change his system, and act upon the defensive during the remainder of the campaign, the expedition of the count d'Estaing to the coast of North America, otherwise unfortunate, may be said to have been serviceable to the American cause.

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Nothing else of moment happened upon the sea-coast, except a bold and successful attack made by the American major Lee upon the British post at Paulus Hook, on the Jersey shore, opposite to New York, which, although it had no effect upon the general issue of the campaign, nevertheless merits notice, as it serves to shew how dangerous it is for the best-disciplined troops to live in a state of security, even when opposed to an enemy which they despise; and also as it affords one example out of many how well the provincials were furnished with intelligence of every thing that passed within the British lines. Major Sutherland, who had the command of the post at Paulus Hook, detached on the nineteenth of August a part of the garrison to proceed on some particular service, into the country; and intelligence of this movement being immediately communicated to major Lee,

Bold attack
by the Americans on
Paulus
Hook.

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Lee, who commanded some provincials in the neighbourhood, he resolved to avail himself of the opportunity, which the absence of a part of the garrison afforded, to make an attempt upon the post. The design which he had formed was carried into execution the following night. Advancing with three hundred men to the gate of the works, he was mistaken by the centinel for the officer who commanded the party that had marched into the country in the morning, and was suffered to pass, together with his detachment; and in such an unsoldierly state of security did he find the garrison, that he seized a block-house and two redoubts, before the alarm was given. Major Sutherland now threw himself into a redoubt, with sixty Hessians, and by keeping up an incessant fire upon the provincials, soon obliged them to quit the post, without their attempting to spike up the cannon, or doing any injury to the works; and so precipitately as to give occasion to sir Henry Clinton to remark, in his official dispatches, that their retreat was as disgraceful as their attack had been spirited and well-conducted. They nevertheless carried off with them about forty prisoners. It was not their intention to remain in possession of the post; the object of the attack being no other than to give some eclat to the American arms, and to promote a spirit of enterprize amongst the officers and soldiers.

In the interior country the war of devastation was still carried on between the provincials and Indians. Against the latter an expedition, of more than ordinary magnitude, was planned by the congress, to revenge the bloody incursions of the preceding year. The command of it was given to major-general Sullivan; and the force employed

employed amounted to five thousand men. With this force, formed into two divisions, and accompanied by some artillery and field-pieces, general Sullivan entered the Indian country. The Indians, seeing no prospect of being able to oppose such a force, quitted their settlements as he approached them, and fled into other parts. The war of devastation now commenced; and the barbarous savage had the mortification to find that the civilized inhabitant of the sea-coast could outdo him in deliberate acts of mischief. Eighteen of their towns were laid in ashes, and more than one hundred and fifty thousand bushels of corn were destroyed: Their gardens were laid waste: Even their fruit-trees were cut down; and nothing was suffered to remain that could be supposed to afford them any sustenance. But whilst the provincials were thus laying waste the Indian towns, the Indians on their part were making inroads into the provincial settlements, and much mischief was done on both sides. Revenge for an injury received is a point of honour which an Indian never gives up: A severe retribution was therefore to be expected for the ravages committed by general Sullivan. The Indians were irritated but not subdued, and had not deigned to sue for peace: Whence it may be doubted whether this expedition was of any real utility. But if any benefit was derived from it, it was not equal to the expence which it cost, or the expectations which had been formed from it; and all who were concerned in planning it seem to have been disappointed. The congress was dissatisfied: General Washington did not approve of the conduct of the expedition; and general Sullivan, soon after his return from the Indian country, resigned his employments in disgust, and retired from the public service.

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Americans
incurSIONS
into the
country of
the Indians.

IncurSIONS
of the Indi-
ans into the
provincial
settlements.

This

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This expedition was undertaken against the northern Indians, which border on the provinces of Pennsylvania and New York. Similar expeditions were also set on foot in the southern colonies against the Indians on their frontiers, which, although not so expensive as that of general Sullivan, were proportionably more efficacious: And, during this summer, both the northern and southern Indians suffered a severe chastisement.

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The Confederacy against Great Britain joined by Spain—French Attack on Jersey---Repelled---Naval Transactions---The combined Fleets of France and Spain threaten an Invasion of Great Britain ---Engagement between Captain Paul Jones and the Convoy of a British Fleet from the Baltic---Blockade of Gibraltar---Incurſion of the Americans into Weſt Florida---Weſt Florida reduced by the Spaniards-- The Spaniards attack the British Log-wood-cutters in Honduras---Reduction of the Spaniſh Fort Omoa, the Key of the Bay of Honduras ---Protection afforded to the British Commerce---General Retrospect of British Affairs at the Conclusion of 1779.

FROM America we muſt now paſs to Europe, where, through the intrigues of the court of France, one power openly joined the confederacy againſt Great Britain, and another, her ancient and much-favoured ally, became ſo lukewarm in her attachment, that her friendſhip was no longer to be depended upon.

When France firſt determined to acknowledge the independence of the American colonies, and to enter into a treaty with them, Spain was ſolicited to join in it. But, however deſirous this branch of the houſe of Bourbon, as well as the other, might be to reduce the power of Great Britain, the propoſition was at that time rejected; very probably from an apprehenſion that Great Britain

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The confederacy
againſt
Great Britain
joined
by Spain.

CHAP. Britain might be disposed to retaliate by stirring
 XXXII. up a rebellion in the Spanish colonies. The court
 1779. of France, nevertheless, unceasingly continued
 its solicitations, which, in the fall of the preceding
 year, appear to have become effectual. The king
 of Spain, in the month of September of that year,
 interposed so far as to offer to mediate between the
 belligerent powers.

However unsuitable, in point of impartiality,
 it might appear for one branch of the house of
 Bourbon to undertake to mediate between another
 branch of the same house and a third power, Great
 Britain nevertheless accepted the mediation of
 Spain; and the proposals of the court of France,
 for putting an end to the differences which sub-
 sisted between it and Great Britain, were present-
 ed to the court of London by the Spanish ambas-
 sador. These were found to be so totally inad-
 missible, as to create a suspicion that the king of
 Spain had engaged in the mediation only for the
 purpose of furnishing himself with a pretext to take
 a part in the war; and they were instantly reject-
 ed by the court of Great Britain. The king of
 Spain, in his character of mediator, now pre-
 sented other terms, as from himself, which he
 called ultimate proposals: But these were so near-
 ly the same in substance with those offered by the
 court of France, that they were equally inadmissi-
 ble. They were however rejected with much ci-
 vility; and, in the answer delivered to the Span-
 ish ambassador, a wish was expressed that nothing
 that had passed might interrupt the harmony sub-
 sisting between Great Britain and Spain.

Although it was generally understood, long
 before the end of this negotiation, that, if it fail-
 ed in effect, Spain was to become a party in the
 war; yet no declaration of that nature was made
 for a considerable time after the answer to his ul-
 timate

timate propositions had been received by the king of Spain. His preparations were not at that time in a sufficient state of forwardness: And the address of his ministers, in timing the proper moments of interposition, was as conspicuous as their general policy in suffering him to be led into the war was utterly reprehensible. In the preceding year, the offer of mediation was not made until after the return of the ships and troops that had been employed in America, during the late disputes between Spain and Portugal, and the arrival of the rich annual fleets, which bring home the treasures of Mexico and Peru. And, in the present year, the declaration which announced war was not delivered to the British ministry until it was morally certain, that the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, both of which were then at sea, could not be impeded. A momentary attention to dates will put this matter beyond a doubt. The French fleet sailed from Brest on the fourth of June, and steered for the coast of Spain; the British fleet being then, and for ten days afterwards, in harbour. On the sixteenth of June the hostile rescript was delivered to the British ministry, which announced the determination of the Spanish court to join with France in the war; and on the twenty-fourth of the same month a junction was made between the French and Spanish fleets. Thus it is apparent, that the Spanish ministry delayed coming to an open rupture, until, from the certainty of uniting their naval force with that of France, they had reason to expect, not only to be able to protect their own trade from molestation, but, by the magnitude of the combined fleets, to wrest the empire of the sea from the British nation.

To foreign powers the situation of Great Britain, at this critical moment, seemed beyond measure

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sure perilous. Thirteen of her colonies in open insurrection, and two powerful maritime states of Europe combined for her destruction, without a single ally disposed to stretch forth a helping arm, were, to them, certain indications of her approaching downfall; and they viewed the prospect with a malignant pleasure, or, at the least, with indifference. But it soon appeared that those who entertained such sentiments were not sufficiently acquainted with the extent of the national resources, or the firmness of the British spirit, which disdained tamely to yield to any hostile combination, however powerful. The union of Spain with France had for some time been foreseen; and the most vigorous preparations were made to resist the impending storm. Gibraltar, where an attack was expected, was, in the spring of the year, reinforced with troops, and plentifully supplied with provisions, ammunition, and stores. A fleet of transports, with a reinforcement of troops, and a large supply of provisions and warlike stores, under the convoy of admiral Arbuthnot, with a squadron of ships of war, was ready to sail for America by the beginning of May: And it was proposed, with the channel fleet, to block up the harbour of Brest, so as to prevent a junction between the French and Spanish fleets, a measure which it was supposed would be attempted, as soon as Spain should throw off the mask and declare for war. But unfortunate incidents frequently mar the best-concerted designs; and part of this arrangement was prevented from taking place, and another considerably impeded, by the consequences of an unexpected attack made upon the island of Jersey.

French at-
tack on
Jersey,

Whilst admiral Arbuthnot was proceeding down the channel with his convoy, on the second
of

of May, he received intelligence of this attack, and immediately sailed, with part of the Squadron, for the relief of the island; leaving the rest, with the convoy, to proceed to Torbay, and wait his return. Upon his arrival off Guernsey he found that the French had been repulsed, and prevented from landing in Jersey, and were returned to the coast of France. And as his assistance was no longer necessary, he altered his course, and sailed for Torbay to rejoin the convoy.

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repelled.

Although the French had been repulsed, the expedition against Jersey was not abandoned. The small squadron which accompanied it, consisting of three frigates, a cutter, and some smaller vessels, still hovered on the coast of France, waiting for an opportunity to renew the attack. But, during this interval, sir James Wallace in the Experiment, with the Pallas, Unicorn, Fortune, and Chabot brig, who had been sent in pursuit of it, got sight of the French squadron, and drove it into Concalles Bay, where all the ships were run ashore under cover of a battery. Sir James Wallace was nevertheless determined either to take or destroy them. The Experiment was already so near as to be considerably annoyed by the battery; and the pilots refusing to take charge of her any farther, her brave commander, with the characteristic boldness of a British seaman, took the charge upon himself, laid her abreast of the battery, and soon silenced it. The French ships were now abandoned by their crews, and boarded by the boats from the British squadron. The French cutter was scuttled as she lay on the shore, two of the frigates were burnt, and the third, with the smaller vessels, was towed off in

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Naval
transac-
tions.

triumph *. And by this gallant action the island of Jersey was freed from all present apprehensions of danger.

The necessary deviation from his course made by admiral Arbuthnot for the relief of Jersey, although as little time as possible was lost by it, was nevertheless unfortunately, and without any blame to be imputed to him, the cause of much subsequent delay. His fleet, which had anchored in Torbay, was prevented from sailing for near a month by contrary winds: And, when it did sail, the passage became so tedious, in consequence of the westerly winds that prevail in the Atlantic in the latter part of the summer, that he did not arrive at New York, as we have already seen, until the campaign was almost over. Another consequence, that followed from this delay, was not less injurious. It was feared that, during the interval of detention, the French might have become acquainted with the force under admiral Arbuthnot, and the value of his convoy, which was immense, and thence been tempted to form some scheme for attacking him on his passage, and intercepting the convoy. To prevent the effect of such a scheme, if it was formed, and for the greater security of the convoy, ten ships from the channel fleet were detached, under admiral Darby, to accompany Arbuthnot a certain distance on his passage: And the weakening of the channel fleet, by sending away so considerable a detachment, was the cause of delaying the execution of the plan for blocking up the harbour of

* Ships and Vessels taken and destroyed at Concalle Bay.

La Danae, 34 guns, taken. Le Recluse, 24 guns, burnt.

La Valeur, 26 guns, burnt. Le Dieppe, 16 guns, scuttled.

A brig and two sloops taken, and several fishing boats, and other small craft, destroyed.

Brest.

Brest. The French did not fail to profit by the delay : So eager were they to send the Brest fleet to sea, that eight thousand land-forces were embarked to supply the want of so many seamen ; and with this kind of equipment it sailed from Brest on the fourth of June. Count d'Orvilliers, who commanded it, had two objects in view : One was, to intercept the squadron under admiral Darby in its return ; and the other, to form a junction with the Spanish fleet. In the first he failed, admiral Darby having returned in safety to the channel ; but in the second he succeeded, and joined the fleet of Spain on the twenty-fourth of June. The two fleets, when united, amounted to more than sixty sail of the line, with nearly an equal number of frigates ; and soon after the junction they steered for the British channel.

The British fleet, under sir Charles Hardy, who was appointed to the command upon the resignation of admiral Keppel, was by this time also at sea. It consisted of thirty-eight ships of the line, with something less than its due proportion of frigates, and cruised in that part of the sea which, in nautical phraseology, is called the chops, or mouth, of the channel. The great superiority of the combined fleet, in the number of ships, guns, and men, seemed to justify the forebodings of those who prognosticated the ruin of the British empire ; and, to add to the dangers of the present moment, preparations were made on the French coast, and an invasion of Great Britain was threatened under cover of the combined fleet. On the other hand, every precaution was taken by the British government, which prudence suggested, for defeating the expected attack. A proclamation was issued, ordering the cattle and draught-horses to be driven from those parts of the sea-coast on which a landing should be effected ; the

The combined fleets of France and Spain threaten an invasion of Great Britain.

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militia was embodied; and numerous cruisers were stationed in the narrow seas, to watch the enemy's motions. And these efforts of the government were nobly seconded by those of private individuals; for such energy had the national spirit acquired under the prospect of the difficulties that surrounded, and the dangers that threatened, that meetings were held in most of the principal towns, and voluntary contributions made to raise men for the defence of the nation.

About the middle of August, count d'Orvilliers, with the combined fleet, passed the British fleet under sir Charles Hardy, in the mouth of the channel, without either fleet having discovered the other, and proceeded on as far as Plymouth; taking in the way the *Ardent*, a British ship of war, on her passage to join sir Charles Hardy. The count d'Orvilliers made no attempt to land, but continued for several days parading with the combined fleet in sight of Plymouth, until a strong easterly wind set in, and compelled him to quit the channel. As soon as this abated, he returned to the coast of England, and cruised off the Land's End. The same easterly wind had also driven the British fleet to sea; but, on the last day of August, sir Charles Hardy regained his former station, and entered the channel in full view of the enemy, who did not attempt to molest him. He now endeavoured to entice them into the narrower part of the channel, where their great superiority in number would have less availed them; and they followed him as high as Plymouth, but chose to proceed no farther. Their crews were said to be sickly; their ships to be in bad condition: And the season for equinoctial gales was fast approaching. They therefore soon afterwards quitted the English Channel, and entered the harbour of Brest. Thus all the apprehensions which
had

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had been raised were quickly dissipated; And nothing was done answerable to the mighty expectations that had been formed from the union and co-operation of two such powerful fleets. Even during their cruise, commodore Johnstone, with a squadron of British ships, hovered on the coast of France and kept it in alarm. The trade of the enemy was every-where annoyed by the British cruisers, and their merchant-ships taken, even at the entrance of their harbours. On the other hand, the British trade was less injured than in the preceding year: One of her homeward-bound fleets from the West Indies, consisting of one hundred and twenty-five sail, arrived in safety just before the combined fleets entered the channel; and scarcely had they left it, when another fleet from the East Indies was equally fortunate. Sir Charles Hardy continued to cruise with the channel fleet until it was late in the season: And, notwithstanding the apparent superiority of the enemy, Great Britain, in effect, still remained master of the sea.

The only one of the homeward-bound British fleets that seemed to be in any danger, was that from the Baltic, under the convoy of the *Serapis*, captain Pierfon, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, captain Piercy, the first a ship of forty-four, and the other of twenty guns. This fleet was attacked near Scarborough, on the northern coast of England, by a squadron under the command of captain Paul Jones, in the service of congress, a man of a savage and ferocious disposition, hardened by his crimes, and rendered desperate by the fear of punishment. Jones's squadron consisted of the *Bon Homme Richard*, a ship of forty guns; two frigates, one of thirty-six, and the other of thirty-two guns; the *Vengeance* brig of twelve guns, and a cutter; and was fitted out from Port

l'Orient

Engage-
ment be-
tween cap-
tain Paul
Jones and
the convoy
of a British
fleet from
the Baltic.

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l'Orient in the end of July, for the purpose of intercepting the British fleet from the Baltic. But by the good conduct and persevering bravery of captain Pierſon, the convoy was ſaved, although both of the king's ſhips were taken. As ſoon as the enemy was diſcovered, a ſignal was made for all the ſhips of the convoy to run in ſhore, and endeavour to make a harbour, whiſt captain Pierſon ſet all the ſail he could to get between them and the enemy; and as ſoon as he came near enough to diſcover the ſuperior force which he had to contend with, another ſignal was made for the Counteſs of Scarborough to join him. Jones ſhewed no backwardneſs to engage: He ſteered directly for the Serapis, and brought-to within muſket-ſhot of her larboard bow, about half after ſeven in the evening. An engagement immediately commenced, and not more than two or three broadſides were exchanged, when Jones attempted to board the Serapis; but he was ſoon repulſed, and obliged to ſheer off. In a ſecond attempt the two ſhips became entangled, and dropped alongſide of each other ſo cloſe, that the muzzles of the guns touched the ſides of the oppoſite ſhip. In this ſituation the engagement was continued till half an hour after ten, during which the Serapis was frequently ſet on fire by the combuſtibles thrown into her from the Bon Homme Richard; and, in the confuſion, a cartridge took fire, which, communicating to others, blew up all the officers and men ſtationed abaft the main maſt, and rendered the guns in that quarter of the ſhip totally unſerviceable. Throughout the whole of the action, the Alliance, the largeſt of Jones's frigates, ſailed round, and, as opportunities offered, poured her broadſides into the Serapis; and, towards the concluſion of the engagement, coming under her ſtern, raked her fore-and-aft, and killed or wounded

wounded so many of her men, that captain Pier-
son, seeing no prospect of being able to extricate
the Serapis, thought it cruelty to his people
longer to continue the action, and struck his co-
lours. The Countess of Scarborough, although
so much inferior in force, had engaged the Pallas,
a French frigate of thirty-two guns, for nearly
two hours, but was at length obliged to strike;
her rigging being cut to pieces, seven of her guns
dismounted, four of her people killed, and twen-
ty badly wounded; And, to cut off all hopes of
success from a further resistance, just before she
struck, the other frigate came up on her larboard
quarter, and was ready to join in the action. The
carnage on board the Serapis was great: It
amounted, according to the best account that
captain Pierfon was enabled to give, to forty-nine
killed, and sixty-eight wounded; but he had rea-
son to believe, although this was all the loss which
he was able to ascertain with precision, that in
reality it was much greater. His ship too had suf-
fered very considerable damage; and the main-
mast went by the board just as she struck. But
the scene which presented itself on board the Bon
Homme Richard was horrible beyond description.
Her quarter and counter on the lower deck were
entirely driven in, and the whole of her guns on
that deck dismounted. She was on fire in two
different places; had seven feet of water in her
hold; and her decks streamed with the blood of
the killed and wounded, which, according to
captain Pierfon's account, amounted to three
hundred and six, a number more than three-
fourths of her crew. Under such circumstances
of accumulated horror and distress, none but a
desperado would have continued the engage-
ment; but their Russian commander was seen se-
veral times during the action without his coat,
and

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and with his shirt-sleeves tucked up beyond his elbows, running about the ship, and brandishing a naked cutlass to keep his men at their quarters. To him, who, it seems, was a native of Galloway in Scotland, and who, it is said, had, by his crimes, forfeited his life to the laws of his country, before he entered into the service of congress, it was eligible to fall in battle rather than by the hands of the executioner: But, to a commander of any humanity, the lives of the people entrusted to his care, are an object of the utmost attention; and, to such a commander, resistance appears unjustifiable, after it becomes hopeless. The issue of the engagement in favour of the *Bon Homme Richard* may therefore be ascribed to the different circumstances under which the two commanders acted, as much as to the disparity of force. The damage done to the *Bon Homme Richard* was so great that it could not be repaired; the water gained upon her so fast, that she sunk in less than two days afterwards, with some of her wounded men on board. By this engagement two of his majesty's ships were lost; but a valuable convoy were saved. The brave resistance made by captain Pierfon gave the ships of the convoy time to escape; and enabled them to take shelter in the different harbours on the sea-coast before they could be overtaken.

The declaration which announced hostilities on the part of the Spanish nation was not made until every thing had been previously prepared for acting with effect. The grand Spanish fleet had either sailed, or was ready to sail: Troops were in motion to occupy the works at St. Roque, and invest Gibraltar by land, whilst a naval force was proceeding to block it up by sea: And orders had been dispatched to the governors of their foreign possessions to prepare them for the rupture.

With

With the help of such previous arrangements it was to be hoped, whilst Great Britain was embarrassed with the complicated operations of so extensive a war, that Spain might with ease recover back some of the possessions that had been wrested from her in less auspicious times; and Gibraltar in Europe, and the province of West Florida in North America, appear to have been marked out as the first objects of attack.

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General Elliot, that brave and gallant veteran, commanded at Gibraltar; and the garrison had been largely reinforced. With such advantages, added to the natural strength of the place, the reduction of it was thought impracticable, in any other way than by blockade: It was therefore invested both by sea and land; and the blockade was formally notified to all the maritime powers in amity with Spain, that they might not attempt to furnish it with supplies. But in this respect the British ministry had anticipated the views of Spain, and, under the apprehension of a rupture, had not only largely reinforced Gibraltar with troops, but plentifully supplied it with provisions and stores; so that an attack upon a place of such strength, so amply provided with every thing necessary to hold out against a siege, in which the enemy might unprofitably waste their blood and treasure, was rather to be wished than regretted.

Blockade of
Gibraltar.

It was far otherwise with West Florida, a province of large extent, thinly settled, and defended by an inconsiderable force. Its western extremity at a great distance from Pensacola, the seat of the government, bordered on the Spanish province of Louisiana, from which it was separated only by the river Mississippi. West Florida was therefore peculiarly exposed to an attack, not only from its weak state of defence, but from its contiguity to the Spanish territories. And Don Bernardo de Galves,

CHAP. Galves, the governor of Louisiana, having been
 XXXII. previously instructed, had made all necessary pre-
 1779. parations, and was ready to pass the boundary, as
 soon as he should receive information of the com-
 mencement of hostilities, intelligence of which, it
 appears, was communicated to him early in Au-
 gust, and long before it reached the governor of
 West Florida.

Incurfions
 of the Ame-
 ricans into
 West Flori-
 da.

In the preceding year a predatory incurfion had
 been made into this province by a captain Willing,
 an American partizan, who, from having been a
 fettler upon the Miffiffipi, previous to the war, was
 well acquainted with the countries bordering upon
 that river. He fet out from Fort Pitt, and, de-
 fcending by the courfes of the Ohio and Miffiffip-
 pi, arrived at a British fettlement in West Florida,
 called Manchac, at the confluence of the river
 Ibberville with the Miffiffippi; and fuch was the
 weaknefs of this frontier fettlement, that with
 twenty-five men only he entered it, took by fur-
 prize a British merchant-ship, mounting fixteen
 guns, that lay there loading with tobacco and
 indigo, and made himfelf mafter not only of that
 fettlement, but of fome others that adjoined it
 upon the river Amit. Some of the principal in-
 habitants made their efcape, and flying to Pens-
 cola, applied to the governor for affiftance. At
 that time there were not more than five hundred
 regular troops in the province, a number not more
 that fufficient to garrifon Pensacola, and the fort
 at Mobile; from which fervices none of them
 could be fpared. But the fuperintendant for In-
 dian affairs, having confented to permit a few of
 the hunters, who were attached to his department,
 to affift the inhabitants of Manchac in the recove-
 ry of their poffeffions; with this fmall reinforce-
 ment they returned, drove out the Americans, and
 re-poffeffed themfelves of their former eftates and
 habitations.

habitations. This irruption of the Americans, together with the apprehension of the hostile intentions of Spain, was the cause of a reinforcement being sent to Pensacola in the beginning of the present year. It consisted of a regiment of Germans, and the Maryland and Pennsylvania regiments of provincials, under the command of brigadier-general John Campbell; and the whole regular force of the province, after the junction of this detachment, amounted to about one thousand eight hundred men.

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Soon after the arrival of general Campbell, he detached lieutenant-colonel Dickson, with five hundred men, to build a fort near the mouth of the Ibberville, for the defence of that part of the frontier. But, from various unexpected obstructions that occurred, the fort was not nearly finished when Don Bernardo de Galves, about the end of August, entered the province with two thousand men, having first intercepted several vessels with supplies for the fort, and taken every practicable precaution for preventing intelligence of his operations from being carried to general Campbell. On the twelfth of September he approached Baton Rouge, where lieutenant-colonel Dickson had taken post with his detachment, and thrown up some works that were yet unfinished. The place was immediately invested, and approaches were made and continued until the twenty-first of September, when a battery of heavy cannon was opened upon the works. These, after an incessant cannonade for three hours, were found to be untenable: A flag of truce was sent out with proposals; and a capitulation was finally entered into for the surrender of the post. Honourable terms were obtained not only for the garrison but the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts; and in this manner the British settlements upon the Mississippi,

West Florida reduced by the Spaniards.

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August.

The Spaniards attack the British logwood-cutters in Honduras.

Mississippi, from the Natches downward, were yielded to the crown of Spain. But this loss was soon afterwards in part compensated by an acquisition made in a different quarter.

It seems evident that the same provisional orders for hostilities had been sent to all the governors of the Spanish provinces that bordered on any British settlement; for nearly at the same time when Don Bernardo de Galves entered the province of West Florida, the Spanish governor of Honduras made an unexpected attack upon the British logwood-cutters, took many of them prisoners, and expelled the rest from their principal settlement at St. George's Key. General Dalling, governor of Jamaica, who, in consequence of the rupture with Spain, was apprehensive that such an attack would be made, had already dispatched captain Dalrymple, with a small detachment of the Irish volunteers, to the musquito shore, to collect a force for the assistance of the logwood-cutters in the Bay of Honduras. The transports which conveyed this detachment, carried also a supply of arms, ammunition, and stores, and arrived at Black River on the Musquito shore on the twenty-seventh of September. The same day on which they arrived, intelligence was received of the attack made by the Spaniards on St. George's Key; and in consequence of this intelligence the squadron again put to sea, as soon as captain Dalrymple had enlisted some volunteers, and collected about sixty Indians. In their passage to Honduras they fell in with a squadron of ships of war under the command of commodore Luttrell, consisting of the Charon, and the Lowestoff and Pomona frigates, that had been sent by sir Peter Parker, admiral on the Jamaica station, to intercept some Spanish register ships, of which he had received intelligence.

From

From commodore Luttrell, information was received that the settlers at Honduras, with their slaves, had retired to Truxillo, and the island of Rattan, on the Musquito shore; that the Spaniards had been already dispossessed of St. George's Key, by his Majesty's armed schooner Racehorse; and that the register-ships, which were the object of commodore Luttrell's cruise, had taken shelter in the harbour of Omoa, and were too strongly protected by the fortifications on shore to be attacked by sea. Under such circumstances it was agreed between the commodore and captain Dalrymple to unite their force, proceed against Omoa, and attack it both by sea and land. The united squadron accordingly sailed first for Truxillo, where a number of bay-men and logwood-cutters were collected, armed and embodied; and from thence proceeded against Omoa.

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On the sixteenth of October in the evening, the land force, which, even with the marines and musquetry-men of the ships, and the reinforcement from Truxillo, did not much exceed five hundred men, was disembarked at Porto Cavallo, a harbour which was supposed to be not more than nine miles distant from Omoa. It had been intended to march forward in the night, to surprise the fort, and take it by escalade, before the morning; but the country through which the march was to be performed was difficult, being in some parts intersected by lagoons and morasses, and in others by steep precipices, rendered almost impassable by the late rains; and through this difficult country only a narrow path led to the fort, which, in the darkness of the night, they were obliged to explore with lighted splinters of the cabbage tree: The distance too was found to be greater than had been represented. By these obstructions the march was so much retarded, that, when morning appeared,

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of the Span-
ish fort
Omoa, the
key of the
Bay of Hon-
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ed, captain Dalrymple found himself still six miles from the fort, and his men much fatigued. He suffered them to refresh themselves for two hours, and then continued his march, putting the Indians in front to scour the woods. A body of the enemy was discovered lying in ambush, about a mile from the fort, and quickly dislodged. The heights round the town, and the fort, with the roads leading to them, were secured: Posts were established; and some of these being galled by a scattering fire from the houses in the town, captain Dalrymple found it necessary to burn it down. Whilst the town was in flames, commodore Luttrell's squadron entered the bay; and the fort was now invested both by sea and land. Some days were spent in landing cannon, and erecting batteries; but, after they were opened, it was quickly perceived, that, although they annoyed the garrison exceedingly, they made no impression upon the walls of the fort; and that, in this mode, the siege might be protracted to an indefinite length. It was therefore determined to cut the matter short by attempting to take the fort by escalade, especially as the ditch was observed to be dry. The attempt was to be made at four in the morning, by one hundred and fifty Europeans, consisting of seamen and marines, with a few of the loyal Irish, under cover of a cannonade from the ships in the bay, and the batteries on the heights. At three the detachment allotted for this service moved down from the heights; and in the valley, being formed into four columns, waited with impatience for the signal of attack. A little after four the cannonade began, which so engaged the attention of the enemy that the assailants, with their scaling-ladders, advanced, unperceived, close to the ramparts. As they were ready to enter the ditch, they were discovered: The enemy's drums beat

to

to arms, and the alarm was given. The assailants, for a moment, shrunk back, but, almost instantly recovering themselves rushed on into the ditch. The scaling ladders were applied; and the seamen mounted the walls with alacrity. Two, who first reached the top of the ramparts, presented their pieces at a body of the enemy assembled to oppose them, but, according to their orders, reserved their fire until they were joined by more of their companions. These followed so closely, that the Spaniards were struck with consternation, and seemed to lose the power of resistance, notwithstanding the exertions of their officers to encourage them. About one hundred escaped over the walls on the opposite side of the fort; the rest fled to the casements; and the governor and principal officers now seeing their situation desperate, came and surrendered their swords, with the keys of the fort, to captain Dalrymple. Such was the humanity of the assailants, and such the good order preserved in the assault, that only two Spaniards were wounded with the bayonet, while in the act of resistance, and not one was plundered. An instance of heroism in a seaman is mentioned, to which history affords nothing in its kind superior. He had scrambled up the walls with a cutlass in each hand, and meeting with an unarmed Spanish officer, the generous tar disdained to take advantage of his helpless situation; but, presenting him with one of his cutlasses, added, "Now you will be on a footing with me." The Spanish gentleman was too much affected with the singular generosity of the action to accept of the offer, and quietly surrendered. Unfortunately the name of this brave seaman has not been preserved. The Spaniards, during the siege, lost, in killed and wounded, about thirty men; and three hundred and sixty-five with a considerable number of officers, were made

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made prisoners. The whole loss of the besiegers, in killed and wounded, did not exceed twenty.

Thus easily was acquired the important fortress of Omoa, the key of the Bay of Honduras, and, in time of war, the receptacle of the treasure sent from Guatemala. The fort was built of stone, raised out of the sea, and brought from the distance of twenty leagues. Its walls were eighteen feet thick; and, although it had cost the Spaniards twenty years labour, the out-works were not then finished. But, to the captors, the most important part of the acquisition was the two register ships, the value of which, with that of some other prizes of less note taken in the harbour, was estimated at three millions of dollars. A convention was made for an exchange of prisoners; and it was agreed, that those who were taken in Fort Omoa should be exchanged for an equal number of British subjects taken in the Bay of Honduras. The Spanish governor offered to ransom the fort at the expence of three hundred thousand dollars. But as Omoa was thought to be a post of great consequence during a war with Spain, the offer, although an advantageous one to the captors, was immediately rejected; as was a similar one for two hundred and fifty quintals of quicksilver, an article necessary for working the Spanish mines, and for which a sum of money would have been given more than double its value.

When the British squadron quitted Omoa, a garrison was assigned to it, such as could be spared, and a sloop of war left in the harbour for its further protection: But it did not long remain in the possession of Great Britain. The weakness of the garrison tempted the Spaniards in the neighbourhood to collect a force and invest the fort. For a considerable time it was defended with great bravery: But, at last, both officers and men,
amongst

amongst whom an epidemical fever began to rage, and who, in the whole, amounted only to eighty-five, were so weakened and overcome with the fatigue of constant duty, one centinel being obliged, by shifting his place, to serve for five, that they saw it would be impossible to withstand an assault, which the enemy were preparing to make. They therefore determined to evacuate the fort; but to leave it as unserviceable as in their circumstances they could possibly make it. After the guns had been spiked, and the ammunition and military stores destroyed, the garrison, without losing a single man in the evacuation, embarked on board the vessels in the harbour, and took a final leave of Omoa.

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It has already been observed, that had the British fleet under admiral Byron followed that of France under the count d'Estaing, when he made an unsuccessful attack upon Savannah, it is more than probable, that to the disgrace of a repulse from that town, would have been added the loss of a great part of his fleet. But the British fleet, in the station on which it did remain, performed very eminent services to the state under the command of rear-admiral Hyde Parker, who succeeded admiral Byron in the fall of the present year. The British commerce in the West Indies was protected, whilst that of the enemy was almost ruined by the capture of their merchantmen. Great part of a convoy bound to Martinique was either taken or destroyed, in sight of the island, and of the French squadron at Fort Royal, under monsieur de la Motte Piquet, who, in sailing out of the harbour to the relief of one of his frigates, was in imminent danger of having his retreat cut off by part of the British fleet, then cruising off the mouth of the bay. And to the captures of their merchantmen are to be added four of the

Protection
afforded to
the British
commerce.

CHAP. count d'Estaing's frigates, on their return to the
XXXII. West Indies from the coast of America*.

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Thus Great Britain continued to make a noble stand against the machinations of her foes. And, although the year 1779 must be considered as unfortunate, in which she lost two valuable islands, without gaining from her enemies a territorial equivalent; it may, nevertheless, be doubted whether the loss of these islands was not overbalanced by the damage done to the French and Spanish commerce, not only in Europe and the West Indies, but in every quarter of the globe.

* The first of these frigates was taken on the 24th of October; and from her admiral Parker first learnt with certainty, that count d'Estaing had gone, with all his fleet, to North America.

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Expedition under Sir Henry Clinton to South Carolina—Fortifications of Charlestown described—Garrison of Charlestown—Siege and Reduction of Charlestown—Incurſion of the Spaniards into Weſt Florida—Conſequences of the Fall of Charlestown—Three new Expeditions ſet on foot by the Britiſh Commander—His Addreſs to the Inhabitants of South Carolina—Its Effect—Defeat of the American Colonel Burford—Diſpoſition of the Britiſh Troops in South Carolina—Adminiſtration of Earl Cornwallis there—Counter-Revolution among thoſe who had ſubmitted to the Power of Britain on the Fall of Charlestown—Detachments from Waſhington's Army ſent into North Carolina—Movements of the American Colonel Sumpter—His Attempt on the Britiſh Poſt on Rocky Point.

SIR Henry Clinton having been cramped in his operations by the proceedings of the French fleet under the count d'Estaing, whose unsuccessful attack upon Savannah, together with his final departure from the American coast, has already been related; no sooner received certain information of the departure of d'Estaing than he set on foot an expedition, the object of which was the taking of Charlestown, and the reduction of the province of South Carolina. The troops designed for this expedition were immediately embarked on board the transports; and these, escorted by admiral Arbuthnot with an adequate naval force, sailed from Sandy Hook on the twenty sixth of

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under Sir
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to South
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O 2

December

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December 1779. Sir Henry Clinton accompanied the expedition, leaving the garrison at New York under the command of lieutenant general Knyphausen. The passage might have been expected to be performed in ten days; but such was the uncommon severity of the season, that the fleet was very soon separated, and driven out of its course by tempestuous weather; and scarcely any of the ships arrived at Tybee, the appointed place of rendezvous, before the end of January. Some few straggling vessels were taken; some others were lost; and all received more or less damage. Almost all the horses belonging to the artillery or cavalry perished during the passage; and amongst the ships that were lost was one which contained the heavy ordnance. Fortunately, however, the crews were all saved.

Those ships being refitted that stood in need of immediate repair, the fleet sailed from Tybee to North Edisto Sound, in the province of South Carolina; and on the eleventh of February the troops were disembarked on John's Island, about thirty miles from Charlestown. Part of the fleet was immediately sent round to block up the harbour of Charlestown by sea; whilst the troops, slowly advancing through the country, passed from John's to James Island; and from thence, over Wappoo Cut, to the main land, until they at length reached the banks of Ashley River, opposite to Charlestown. So great were the impediments that they met with in their progress, or such the extreme caution of the commander in chief, in establishing and fortifying posts to preserve his communication with the sea, that it was not until the twenty-ninth of March that the advance of the army crossed Ashley River at the ferry, and landed on Charlestown Neck, some miles above the town. The flat-bottomed boats had

had been brought from North Edisto Sound, through the inlets by which the coast is intersected, until they entered Ashley River, by Wappoo Cut; and the passing over of the troops was conducted with much address by captain Elphinstone of the navy. On the following day the troops encamped in front of the American lines; and on the first of April began to break ground before Charlestown, at the distance of eight hundred yards from the provincial works.

The slow advance of the British army had given time to the provincials not only to strengthen, but greatly to enlarge, the defences of Charlestown. These now consisted of a chain of redoubts, lines and batteries, extending from Ashley to Cooper River, upon which were mounted upwards of eighty pieces of cannon and mortars. In front of the lines a canal had been dug, which was filled with water; and from the dam at either end a swamp oozed to each river, forming natural impediments where the artificial terminated. Behind these were two rows of abatis, some other obstructions, and, immediately in front of the works, a double picketted ditch. The works on the right and left were not only of great strength, but advanced so far beyond the range of the intermediate lines as to enfilade the canal almost from one end to the other; And in the centre was a horn-work of masonry, which, being closed during the siege, became a kind of citadel.

Such were the defences of Charlestown on the only side on which it could be approached by land; and, towards the water, numerous batteries covered with artillery forbade the approach of ships. But, besides the security which Charlestown derived from its numerous batteries, it was still more effectually protected by the bar, or sand-bank, at the mouth of the inlet that led from the sea,

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Fortifications of Charlestown described.

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fea. This bar was impassable by the larger ships of war, and rendered the entry of others difficult and dangerous; and, just within it, Five Fathom Hole, of a sufficient depth of water, furnished a convenient station for a squadron to command the bar, and render the passage of it still more difficult and dangerous. This station was occupied by the American commodore Whipple, with a squadron of nine sail under his command, the largest carrying forty-four, and the smallest sixteen, guns. After the perils and difficulties of the bar were surmounted, before a fleet could reach Charlestown, Fort Moultrie, upon Sullivan's Island, was to be passed, the fire from which had, on a former occasion, proved so destructive to a British squadron under sir Peter Parker; and, since that period, the works on Sullivan's Island had been considerably strengthened and enlarged.

Garrison of
Charlestown.

General Lincoln, trusting to those defences, and at the same time expecting large reinforcements from the other colonies, instead of remaining with his army in the open country, shut himself up in Charlestown, at the earnest request of the inhabitants, and with the force under his command, amounting to seven thousand men of all denominations under arms, resolved to defend it to the last extremity. Great expectations were, undoubtedly, at one time, entertained of the successful defence of the bar, from the advantageous position of the American squadron; but it soon appeared that these were illusory: For no sooner did the British fleet, on the twentieth of March, approach the bar, with an intention to pass it, than commodore Whipple quitted his station and retired to Fort Moultrie, leaving admiral Arbuthnot to enter at his leisure, and occupy the station which the American squadron had just before quitted.

quitted. Before the Renown, Roebuck, and Romulus could pass the bar, it was necessary to lighten them, by taking out their guns, provision, and water; and in that destitute situation they lay for sixteen days, before a favourable opportunity offered for making the attempt. But, when the attempt was made, they effected their passage without any opposition, except from some galleys left by commodore Whipple, which fired upon the boats of the fleet, and endeavoured to prevent them from sounding the channel. Not long afterwards, commodore Whipple retired to Charlestown with his ships, part of which he stationed in Cooper River; and the rest, with some other vessels, were sunk across the mouth of it, to prevent the British fleet from entering. This was a most important precaution; for had the British fleet been permitted to gain the possession of Cooper River, the larger ships might have been so stationed as to rake the American lines; the only communication that remained between the town and the country would have been interrupted; all hopes of obtaining supplies and reinforcements cut off, and the duration of the siege, in all probability, greatly shortened.

As soon as the British began to erect batteries against the town, admiral Arbuthnot embraced the first favourable opportunity that offered for passing Fort Moultrie; and on the ninth of April, with a strong southerly wind and flowing tide, he weighed anchor, and effected his purpose with very little loss. His squadron consisted of the Renown of fifty, the Romulus and Roebuck, each of forty-four guns; the Richmond, Blonde, Raleigh, and Virginia, frigates, and the Sandwich armed ship; and although, in passing, the ships were exposed to a heavy cannonade from
Fort

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Fort Moultrie, their whole loss of men, in killed and wounded, amounted only to twenty seven; and the damage done to them in other respects was equally inconsiderable. As their entry into Cooper River was precluded, they anchored near Fort Johnston, just without the range of shot from the batteries of the town.

The same day on which the fleet passed Fort Moultrie, the first parallel of the besiegers was finished; and the town being now almost completely invested, both by sea and land, the British commanders summoned general Lincoln to surrender. His answer was short, but firm, and conveyed an implied reflection against the British commanders for their supposed tardiness in making their approaches:—"Sixty days," said he, "have passed since it has been known that your intentions against this town were hostile, in which time has been afforded to abandon it; but duty and inclination point to the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity."

Siege of
Charlestown.

The summons being ineffectual, the batteries of the first parallel were opened upon the town, and soon made a visible impression. But still the communication between the country and the garrison was kept open across Cooper River; and on the very day on which the summons was sent to general Lincoln, the American general Woodford passed Cooper River with seven hundred continental troops, and entered the town. To assist in preserving this communication, general Lincoln had left his cavalry without the lines, with orders to traverse and keep open the country to the eastward of Cooper River, as being that through which he expected to receive his reinforcements; and by the same route he hoped to be able to make good

good his retreat with the garrison, if at last he should find the town no longer tenable *.

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* The underwritten Letter was intercepted and published by Sir Henry Clinton's orders during the siege of Charlestown.

South Carolina, May 11, 1780.

From B. Smith to Mrs. Benjamin Smith, dated Charlestown,
April 30, 1780.

HAVING never had an opportunity of writing to her since the enemy began to act with vigour, and knowing that a thousand evil reports will prevail to increase her uneasiness—mine I have supported pretty well until last night, when I really almost sunk under the load:—Nothing remains around to comfort me but a probability of saving my life, - - - - - After going through many difficulties, our affairs are daily declining, and not a ray of hope remains to assure us of success. - - - - - The enemy have turned the siege into a blockade, which, in a short time, must have the desired effect; and the most sanguine do not now entertain the smallest hope of the town being saved. The enemy have continued their approaches with vigour continually, since I wrote the inclosed, and are now completing batteries about two hundred yards distance from our lines; they fire but seldom from their cannon, but their popping off rifles and small-arms do frequent mischief, and every night throw out an amazing number of shells amongst our people at the lines, which, though not attended with the damage that might reasonably be expected, do some mischief. Our communication is entirely cut off from the country (excepting by a small boat at great risque) by lord Cornwallis, who occupies every landing-place from Haddrill's Point, a considerable way up the river, with two thousand five hundred men. When I wrote last, it was the general opinion that we could evacuate the town at pleasure; but a considerable reinforcement having arrived to the enemy, has enabled them to strengthen their posts so effectually as to prevent that measure. The same cause prevents our receiving further supplies of provisions or reinforcements, and a short time will plant the British standard on our ramparts. You will see by the inclosed summons that the persons and properties of the inhabitants will be saved; and consequently I expect to have the liberty of soon returning to you; but the army must be made prisoners of war. This will give a rude shock to the independence of America; and a Lincelnade will become as common a term as Burgoyne: But I hope we shall in time recover
this

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To cut off the retreat of the garrison, and to prevent it from receiving reinforcements, were objects of such importance that they had not escaped the attention of the British general. But the maintaining his own communications with the sea had required all the troops he could spare from the immediate operations of the siege, until the British fleet passed Fort Moultrie, and gained the command of the water between it and Charlestown. From this time sir Henry Clinton felt no farther apprehension about his own communications, and was enabled to detach lieutenant-colonel Webster, with one thousand four hundred men,

this severe blow. However, before this happens, I hope I shall be permitted to return home, where I must stay, as my situation will not permit me to take any further an active part; and therefore my abandoning my property will subject me to many inconveniencies and losses, without being any way serviceable to the country. - - - This letter will run great risque, as it will be surrounded on all sides; but as I know the person to whose care it is committed, and feel for your uneasy situation, I could not but trust it. Assure yourself that I shall shortly see you, as nothing prevents Lincoln's surrender but a point of honour in holding out to the last extremity. This is nearly at hand, as our provisions will soon fail; and my plan is to walk off as soon as I can obtain permission. - - - Should your father be at home, make him acquainted with the purport of this letter, and remember me to him; also to your mother, but do not let the intelligence go out of the house, - - - but a mortifying scene must first be encountered: The thirteen stripes will be levelled in the dust, and I owe my life to the clemency of a conqueror.

Your ever affectionate husband,

(Signed) B. SMITH.

Note. Those parts filled up with *hyphens* contain expressions of tenderness to his wife, no way interesting to the public; for which reason we have omitted to publish them.

to cut off those of the enemy. By the advanced guard of this detachment, composed of Tarleton's legion and Ferguson's corps, the American cavalry, with the militia attached to them, were surprised in the night of the fourteenth of April, at Biggin's Bridge, near Monk's Corner, thirty-two miles from Charlestown, and completely routed and dispersed, with the loss of all his stores, camp equipage, and baggage*.

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By

* Forty-two large waggons, one hundred and two waggon-horses, eighty-two dragoon-horses, and several officers horses; a quantity of ammunition, flour, butter, cloathing, camp and horse equipage; harness for all the waggons; all the officers cloathing and baggage; together with five puncheons of rum, six hogheads of muscovado sugar, four barrels of indigo, a quantity of tea, coffee, spices, nails in casks, some French cloth, three barrels of gunpowder, light dragoon swords, &c. &c. found in a store, which was set on fire, and blown up by the carelessness of the centinel, who, in going to draw some rum, set it on fire, and in a short time the store was blown up. The loss of the Americans, in men, was major Birnie of Pulaski's legion of dragoons, three captains, one lieutenant, and ten privates, killed; fifteen privates, one captain, and two lieutenants, wounded; fifty eight privates, two captains, and three lieutenants, taken prisoners, including the wounded. Major Birnie was mangled in the most shocking manner; he had several wounds, a severe one behind his ear. This unfortunate officer lived several hours, reprobating the Americans for their conduct on this occasion, and even in his last moments cursing the British for their barbarity, in having refused quarter after he had surrendered. The writer of this, who was ordered on this expedition, afforded every assistance in his power; and had the major put upon a table, in a public-house in the village, and a blanket thrown over him. The major, in his last moments, was frequently insulted by the privates of the legion: Some dragoons of the British legion attempted to ravish several ladies at the house of sir John Collington, in the neighbourhood of Monk's Corner. Mrs ——— the wife of Doctor ——— of Charlestown, was most barbarously treated; she was a most delicate and beautiful woman. Lady ——— received one or two wounds with a sword. Miss ———, sister to major ———, was also ill treated. The ladies made their escape, and

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By this defeat a passage was opened across the head branches of Cooper River for the remainder of the detachment to move forward and occupy the country to the eastward of it. Some days afterwards, by the arrival of a reinforcement from New York, the commander in chief was enabled to send another detachment across Cooper River; and the command of the whole was given to earl Cornwallis.

The force detached to the eastward of Cooper River was now so considerable as to cut off from the garrison all reasonable hopes of effecting a retreat. A council of war was called; and by their advice, an offer was made for surrendering the town on certain conditions: But the conditions proposed were of such a nature as could not be acceded to by the British commanders, and were of course instantly rejected. In the mean time the besiegers were daily advancing their works: The second parallel was completed on the twentieth of April, and the third on the sixth of May. The last of these had been pushed so near to the provincial works as to be close to the canal; and the canal, for a considerable part of its extent, was quickly drained of its water by a sap carried to the dam.

and came to Monk's Corner, where they were protected; a carriage being provided, they were escorted to the house of Mr. . The dragoons were apprehended and brought to Monk's Corner, where, by this time, colonel Webster had arrived and taken the command. The late colonel Patrick Ferguson (of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter) was for putting the dragoons to instant death. But colonel Webster did not conceive that his powers extended to that of holding a general court-martial. The prisoners were however sent to head-quarters, and, I believe, were afterwards tried and whipped.

The

The misfortunes of the besieged now crowded fast upon them. On the same day on which the third parallel was completed, the garrison of Fort Moultrie surrendered to captain Hudson of the navy, who had been landed on Sullivan's Island, with two hundred seamen and marines, to attack the fort by land, whilst the ships prepared to batter it from the water; and, on the same day also, the broken remains of the American cavalry, which had been collected with great care by a colonel White, were again defeated by colonel Tarleton on the banks of the Santee. Whilst the Americans lay under the pressure of these accumulated misfortunes, the British commanders, with a view of saving the effusion of blood, thought proper once more to open a correspondence with general Lincoln for the surrender of the town: But the garrison or the inhabitants were not yet sufficiently humbled to accept of the terms that were offered; and hostilities were recommenced. The batteries of the third parallel opened upon the town, and did great execution; and at this short distance the Hessian yagers, posted advantageously, fired their rifles with such effect, that numbers of the besieged were killed at their guns, and scarcely any escaped who ventured to shew themselves over the lines. During this fire, which continued for two days without intermission, the besiegers gained the counterscarp of the outwork that flanked the canal; the canal itself was passed; and the works were advanced almost to the verge of the ditch. The hopes of the inhabitants now forsook them: All the horrors of an assault presented themselves to their affrighted imaginations; and they joined in a petition to general Lincoln, praying him to accept the terms which had been offered. A flag of truce was accordingly sent out with a proposition to that effect. And, whatever
severe

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severe justice might have dictated, the British commanders, unwilling to press to unconditional submission a reduced enemy, whom clemency might yet reconcile, accepted the proposition, and agreed to grant the same terms which had been before rejected. The capitulation was signed on the twelfth of May; and on the same day the garrison laid down their arms, and major-general Leslie took possession of the town.

By the articles of capitulation the garrison were allowed some of the honours of war: They were to march out and deposit their arms between the canal and the works of the place; but the drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased: The continental troops and seamen, keeping their baggage, were to remain prisoners of war until exchanged: The militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes as prisoners on parole; and, while they kept their parole, were not to be molested in their property by the British troops: The citizens of all descriptions were to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property in the town on the same terms as the militia: The officers of the army and navy were to retain their servants, swords, pistols, and baggage, unsearched; they were permitted to sell their horses, but not to remove them out of the town: And a flag of truce was to be furnished to carry general Lincoln's dispatches to Philadelphia unopened.

The loss of the British troops, during the siege, amounted to seventy-six killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded; that of the garrison was not, in the whole, quite so much: But in the number of the slain was greater. The prisoners taken in Charlestown, including the deputy governor, and the council of the province, seven general officers, a commodore, ten continental regiments,

giments, but much reduced; three battalions of artillery, with town and country militia, amounted to more than five thousand men; to whom must be added about one thousand American and French seamen, and near four hundred pieces of ordnance, with a considerable quantity of stores*.

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The commander in chief, in his public orders issued after the surrender of the town, and in his dispatches to the secretary of state, was lavish in encomiums upon the officers who served under him, and the troops he commanded. The assistance he received during the siege from his general officers, earl Cornwallis, major-generals Leslie, Huyne, and Kosputch, and brigadier-general Patterson, is not only honourably remembered but thankfully acknowledged. The merits of captain Elphinston of the navy, who conducted all the naval operations relating to the army in its progress from North Edisto to Charlestown, and in the passage of Ashley River, and also of all the other officers and seamen serving on shore during the siege, are warmly recommended to the notice of the king, together with the services of the officers

* A Return of the Ships and Vessels taken or destroyed at the Surrender of Charlestown.

The Bricole, pierced for 60, mounting 44 guns, twenty-four and eighteen pounders, sunk; her captain, officers, and company prisoners. The Truite, 26 twelve pounders, sunk; her captain, &c. prisoners. Queen of France, 28 nine pounders, sunk; her captain, &c. prisoners. General Moultrie, 20 six pounders, sunk; ditto. Notre Dame (brig), 16 ditto, sunk; ditto. Providence, 32 eighteen and twelve pounders, taken; captain and company prisoners. Boston, of the same force, taken; ditto. Ranger, 20 six pounders, taken; ditto.

French Ships. L'Avanture, 26 nine and six pounders, commanded by the Sieur de Brulot, Lieutenant de Vaisseaux, taken and company. Polacre, 16 six pounders, taken.

Some empty brigs, lying at the wharfs, with other small vessels, were also taken, and four armed galleys.

and

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and soldiers of the royal artillery, the corps of engineers, and in short of every other corps, whether British or Hessian, but more particularly of the yager detachment. The names of lieutenant-colonels Webster and Tarleton, but above all of the chief engineer major Moncrieff, fill up the list of brave and meritorious officers that are particularly mentioned. The services of the two first of these have been already noticed in the progress of the siege: By the bravery of the one, and the good conduct of the other, the country to the eastward of Cooper River was opened to the British troops, the American cavalry routed and dispersed, and the communication between the town and the country cut off: And with respect to the last of these officers, no language can express more forcibly than that of the commander in chief, the sense which he entertained of his very extraordinary merit. These are his words: “But to major Moncrieff, the commanding engineer, who planned, and, with the assistance of such capable officers under him, conducted the siege with so much judgment, intrepidity, and laborious attention, I wish to render a tribute of the very highest applause and most permanent gratitude; persuaded that far more flattering commendations than I can bestow will not fail to crown such rare merit.”

Of this officer it may be remarked, that he was not more happy in the possession of superior talents than fortunate in occasions to display them. The successive sieges of Savannah and Charlestown furnished him with opportunities of exemplifying his skill in the two principal branches of his profession, the art of defence, and that of attack: In both, his masterly designs were crowned with success; nor is it easy to determine in which of them

them his great attainments in his profession shone with the brightest lustre.

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Whilst the British arms were thus employed in South Carolina, the Spaniards made a fresh incursion into West Florida, and succeeded in reducing the town and fort of Mobile, with the adjoining country. In the month of January Don Bernardo de Galves sailed from New Orleans, with a fleet consisting of sixteen armed vessels, and a number of transports, having on board one thousand five hundred regular troops, and five hundred people of colour. On his passage he was overtaken by a storm, in which several of his vessels were lost, with a number of his troops, and great part of his provisions, artillery, and ammunition. With the rest he arrived off the entrance into Mobile Bay, and landed upon the point of land forming the eastern extremity of that inlet, where he remained until he obtained a reinforcement of men, and a fresh supply of provisions, artillery, and ammunition. When these arrived, Don Bernardo de Galves again embarked his troops, and, sailing up the Bay, landed at Dog River, about four miles from Mobile, on the twenty-fifth of February. From thence he advanced against the fort, and proceeded to make regular approaches, a waste of labour and time that seemed unnecessary against a place so totally unprovided for defence. The fort had been originally built only as a protection against the Indians; and, after it came into the possession of Great Britain, had been suffered to go to decay, until the beginning of the present year, when captain Durnford, the chief engineer at Pensacola, was sent to put it in a state of defence. But this, it seems, was impossible, without an immense expence of money, and a greater length of time than intervened between his taking the command, and the arrival of the

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of the Spaniards into
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Spaniards. It was garrisoned by a company of the sixtieth regiment, amounting to eighty-two men, including officers; and to these were added, upon the approach of the Spaniards, thirty-six sailors, forty-five militia, and sixty people of colour. On the fourteenth of March the Spaniards opened a battery upon the fort, of eleven pieces of heavy cannon, which, in twelve hours, damaged its defences so entirely, and rendered it so untenable, that the commanding officer thought fit to capitulate. Honourable terms were obtained; and, although it was scarcely possible for the garrison to hold out longer, their surrender at this critical moment was, afterwards, a cause of regret, when they were informed that general Campbell, with seven hundred men, was then on his march from Pensacola to their relief, and at no great distance when the capitulation was signed.

Consequences of the fall of Charlestown.

Three new expeditions set on foot by the British commander.

By the fall of Charlestown, the capture of the deputy governor, and the greatest part of the council, and the defeat and dispersion of the only regular force which general Lincoln had left without the lines, the war in South Carolina seemed entirely subdued: And three expeditions, set on foot by the commander in chief, immediately after these events, appeared well calculated to deepen the impression that had been made, and to extinguish every idea of further resistance amongst the people of the interior country, if any such idea could at that time be supposed to exist. The first of these expeditions, under lord Cornwallis, was intended to overpower, or drive out of the province, a body of continental troops under a colonel Burford, who, arriving too late in the siege to be able to throw succours into Charlestown, had taken post on the northern banks of the Santee; and, being joined by those of the

American

American cavalry who had survived their last defeat by Tarleton, made a shew of opposition to the British interest, and endeavoured to keep alive the expiring hopes of the Americans. The second of these expeditions was to proceed up the south-west side of the Santee to the district of Ninety-six, in order to confirm and encourage the loyal, and reduce the disaffected: And the third, with a similar intention, to move up the banks of Savannah to Augusta.

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In the mean time the commander in chief, who had received information that a French armament, with transports and troops, might be expected on the coast of America, to co-operate with general Washington, was busily employed in preparing for his return to New York, and in establishing such regulations for furthering and securing the British interest in South Carolina, as were necessary, previous to his departure. A hand-bill was published and circulated amongst the inhabitants, by which they were reminded, that as the commander in chief, upon his first arrival in the province, had taken no step whatsoever to excite the loyal inhabitants to rise in favour of government, whilst the king's troops employed in the siege of Charlestown might be unable to assist them in their efforts, nor wished to draw the king's friends into danger whilst any doubt could remain of their success; so now, that success was certain, he trusted that one and all would heartily join, and by a general concurrence give effect to such necessary measures as might from time to time be pointed out. The helping hand of every man, it was said, was wanted to re-establish peace and good government. Those who had families might form a militia to remain at home and preserve peace and good order in their own districts; whilst those who were

His address
to the in-
habitants
of South
Carolina.

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young, and had no families, it was expected would be ready to assist the king's troops in driving their oppressors, and all persons whatsoever acting under the authority of congress, far from the province; and, for this purpose, that they should prepare themselves to serve with the king's troops for any six out of the next twelve months, under officers of their own choice, and with this express stipulation, that they should be allowed, when on service, the same pay, ammunition, and provisions, as the king's troops, and should not be obliged to march beyond North Carolina on the one side, or Georgia on the other. Having served for that period, it was said, that they would have paid their debt to their country, would be freed from all further claim of military service, except the usual militia duty at home, and would be entitled to enjoy undisturbed that peace, liberty, and security of property, which they had contributed to establish. A proclamation was also issued by the commander in chief, on the twenty-second of May, by which effectual countenance, protection, and support, were promised to the king's faithful and peaceable subjects, and the most exemplary severity, with confiscation of property, denounced against those who should hereafter appear in arms within the province against his majesty's government, or who should attempt to compel any others to do so, or who should hinder or intimidate any of the king's faithful and loving subjects from joining his forces, or performing those duties which their allegiance required. And on the first of June another proclamation was issued, in the name of sir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, as commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, by which a full and free pardon was promised to all those who, having been misled from their duty, should

should immediately return to their allegiance, and a due obedience to the laws, excepting only such as were polluted with the blood of their fellow-citizens, shed under the mock forms of justice for their loyalty to their sovereign, and adherence to the British government: By the same proclamation, the promise of effectual countenance, protection, and support, was renewed to the loyal and well-affected; and, as soon as the situation of the province would admit of it, a reinstatement of the inhabitants in the possession of all those rights and immunities which they formerly enjoyed under the British government; and also an exemption from taxation, except by their own legislature. These measures seemed well calculated to encourage the loyal, and intimidate the disaffected; and appear to have produced a considerable effect. Most of the people round Charlestown came in, and offered to stand forth in defence of the British government; and not a few actually took up arms, and placed themselves under the direction of major Ferguson, who was appointed to command them. General Williamson, and the militia of the district of Ninety six, submitted to the officer who commanded the expedition into that part of the country; and the inhabitants in the southern parts of the province made the like submission to the British officer commanding at Beaufort. Nearly about the same time also, the commander in chief received the pleasing intelligence that the continental troops and militia under colonel Burford had been completely routed and dispersed by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, who was sent by lord Cornwallis in pursuit of them. Immediately after the surrender of Charlestown colonel Burford, whose

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its effect.

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Defeat of
the Ameri-
can colonel
Burford.

whose force consisted of three hundred and eighty continental infantry, a detachment of Washington's cavalry, and two six pounders, quitted his post on the banks of the Santee, and began a retreat up the north-east side of that river, with a view of retiring into the back country of North Carolina to join a reinforcement which he expected to meet him by that route. Earl Cornwallis did not begin his march in pursuit of him until the eighteenth of May, and then moved on towards Camden. After crossing the Santee, and marching some days on the road by which Burford had retreated, finding him too far advanced to be overtaken by the main body of his detachment, lord Cornwallis dispatched lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with forty-men of the seventeenth regiment of dragoons, one hundred and thirty of the cavalry of the legion, and one hundred mounted infantry of the same corps, to endeavour by forced marches to come up with him. By this officer, after a march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, Burford was overtaken at Waxhaws, on the borders of North Carolina, on the twenty-ninth of May, and defeated, with the loss of almost all his detachment, and the whole of his artillery, ammunition, and baggage. The execution done in this action was severe; One hundred and thirteen were killed on the spot, and two hundred and three made prisoners, of whom one hundred and fifty were badly wounded. Burford made his escape by a precipitate flight on horseback. The king's troops were entitled to great commendation for their activity and ardour on this occasion, but the virtue of humanity was totally forgot. The loss of the British troops was trifling; two officers and three privates being killed,

killed, and one officer and fourteen privates wounded*:

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The last remains of the continental force in South Carolina being extirpated by the defeat of Burford at Waxhaws, and the inhabitants in most parts of the province having either submitted to the British government, or taken paroles from the officers

* Upon the march to Camden the British troops were supported from the country through which they passed. A number of negroes, mounted on horses, were employed under proper conductors in driving in cattle for the support of the army, and, though they were in general very small, the army was plentifully supplied. The cattle were delivered alive to the regiments, who found their own butchers. On the 1st of June the royal army took possession of Camden, in a day or two after which colonel Tarleton joined the army at Camden, distant nearly one hundred miles from Charlestown. Upon the approach of the army to Camden the author, who had the honour of being commissary to the troops under lord Cornwallis, was by his lordship ordered to move on in front, to post centinels, and take charge of such stores as might be found in the town. In consequence of that order, a mill belonging to a colonel Kershaw was taken possession of; in it was found a quantity of wheat and flour. In a store belonging to Joseph and Eli Kershaw was found a quantity of merchandize; 21 rice tierces, 3 hogsheads and a half of indigo, some tea, sugar, coffee, and linen, which were sent to the general hospital. A quantity of salt, 20 barrels of flour, 18 ditto Indian corn meal, one hoghead of rum, a quantity of bacon and hams, butter, brimstone, axes and wedges, sent to the engineer department. Rhubarb in root, damaged, sent to the general hospital. A number of hats, and some green cloth, distributed to the troops. In a barn near the river ninety hogsheads of tobacco, part of which was destroyed by the troops, the rest was ordered by lord Cornwallis to be sent to Charlestown. We shall have occasion hereafter to shew how the indigo and tobacco were disposed of. Near 100 head of cattle were found in and near the town, together with some sheep. Lord Cornwallis ordered the commissaries to give no receipt to colonel Kershaw for the property taken from him, as he was deemed a very violent man, and who was said to have persecuted the loyalists. We will hereafter assign our reasons for being so particular. A return was made every night to lord Cornwallis of all species of property taken in the course of the day, of its distribution, and of the amount in hand.

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officers commanding the detachments sent amongst them, the commander in chief, considering the province as completely reduced, thought fit, previous to his departure for New York, to alter the condition of those who had submitted upon parole; and, instead of considering them any longer as prisoners, to require of them the duties, and entitle them to the rights of active citizens, and loyal subjects. For this purpose, a proclamation was issued, bearing date the third of June, declaring that all the inhabitants of the province who were prisoners on parole, except those who were in the military line, and those who were in Fort Moultrie, or in Charlestown, at the time of the surrender of those places, or who were then in actual confinement, should, from and after the twentieth of that month, be freed and exempted from all such paroles, and be restored to all the rights and duties of citizens and inhabitants: But, by the same proclamation, it was also declared that all persons under the above description, who should afterwards neglect to return to their allegiance, and a due submission to his majesty's government, should be considered as enemies and rebels to the same, and be treated accordingly. These general regulations having been established, the commander in chief, on the fifth of June, embarked for New York, carrying with him all the troops that could be spared, leaving lieutenant-general earl Cornwallis in the command of those that remained, with the charge of prosecuting the war in North Carolina as soon as the season of the year, and other circumstances, would permit.

Disposition
of the troops
in South
Carolina.

The force left under lord Cornwallis amounted to about four thousand men; and as the expedition into North Carolina was necessarily delayed, from the heat of the season, the impossibility of subsisting

subsisting an army in that province until the harvest was over, and the necessity of forming magazines, with a chain of communications properly secured before the expedition was begun, the troops were in the mean time so disposed in cantonments as to cover the frontiers both of South Carolina and Georgia, and secure their internal quiet. The principal force upon the frontiers was at Camden, under the command of lord Rawdon: It consisted of the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, the volunteers of Ireland, the legion cavalry, Brown's and Hamilton's corps of provincials, and a detachment of artillery. Major M^cArthur, with the two battalions of the seventy-first, was advanced to Cheraw Hill, upon the river Pedee, to cover the country between Camden and Georgetown, and to correspond with the highland settlement on Cross Creek, in North Carolina: And Georgetown was garrisoned by a detachment of provincials under captain Saunders of the queen's rangers. Camden was connected with the district of Ninety-six by a strong post at Rocky Mount, upon the Wateree, garrisoned by the New York volunteers, and some militia, under lieutenant colonel Turnbull. At Ninety-six were stationed three battalions of provincials, and some companies of light infantry; at first commanded by lieutenant-colonel Balfour, and afterwards by lieutenant-colonel Cruger. Major Ferguson's corps of provincials, and a body of loyal militia, were not stationary, but traversed the country between the Wateree and the Saluda, and sometimes approached the confines of North Carolina. At Augusta lieutenant-colonel Brown commanded with his own, and detachments from some other regiments. The rest of the troops were stationed at Charlestown, Beaufort, and Savannah: Brigadier-general Patterson commanded at the first of these

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stration of
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these places, and lieutenant-colonel Alured Clarke at the last. And at Camden was to be formed the principal magazine for the intended expedition.

Upon earl Cornwallis, as commander in chief in South Carolina, devolved also the care of adjusting the internal affairs, and establishing such regulations, whether civil or commercial, as might be necessary for its future prosperity; and, to enter upon this arduous task, he repaired to Charlestown, as soon as he had fixed the posts, and cantoned the troops in the manner already mentioned. A correspondence had been kept up with the loyalists in North Carolina: And, as the expedition into that province was necessarily delayed, his lordship sent emissaries amongst them to request the well-affected to attend to their harvest, collect provisions, and remain quiet till the king's troops were ready to enter the province, which would not be till the end of August, or beginning of September. But, unfortunately, this prudent and necessary admonition was not attended to. A number of loyalists in Tryon County having prematurely assembled in arms under a colonel More, towards the end of June, were quickly routed and dispersed by a provincial force under general Rutherford. This unsuccessful insurrection furnished a pretence for persecuting the loyalists in other parts of the province; their gaols were filled with loyalists, and every day added a victim to their gibbets: Such were the sufferings of the loyalists; and so harassed and oppressed were they, that about eight hundred of them, who had intended to wait the approach of the king's troops, at length lost all patience, and, assembling under a colonel Bryan, quitted their habitations, and marched towards South Carolina, where they were fortunate enough to arrive unmolested,

unmolested, and joined major M'Arthur's detachment at Cheraw Hill. Never was a finer body of men collected; strong, healthy, and accustomed to the severity of the climate; had they been properly disciplined, they might have rendered the most important services. Upon their marching into Camden they presented to our view the horrors of a civil war. Many of them had not seen their families for months, having lived in the woods to avoid the persecution of the Americans. Numbers of them were in rags, most of them men of property. There were men in Bryan's corps who possessed some hundred acres of land, farms highly cultivated, and well stocked: These, with families and friends, they abandoned, to manifest their attachment to the British government.

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In the mean time lord Cornwallis was busily employed at Charlestown in forming regulations for the internal government of South Carolina, and in forwarding to Camden the supplies wanted for the army upon the intended expedition. A board of police was established for the administration of justice, until the situation of the province should admit of the regular restoration of its former civil government. Commercial regulations were made for permitting to a certain extent the exportation of the produce of the country; and great pains were taken to inroll the militia, and prepare for assisting in the defence of the province. In most cases paroles were exchanged for protections, accompanied with a renewal of allegiance; and for some weeks an universal calm succeeded the agitations with which the province was lately distracted*.

But

* From the time that the British army entered Camden, until this period, it was wholly supported by supplies from the neighbouring

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Counter-
revolution
among
those who
had submit-
ted to the
power of
Britain on
the fall of
Charlefs-
town.

But it was not long before the seeds of discontent appeared, which, when fully matured, produced a counter-revolution in the minds and inclinations of the people as complete and as universal as that which succeeded the fall of Charlestown. Of those originally attached to the American cause, who, since the capture of Charlestown, had submitted to the British government, either by taking the oath of allegiance, or obtaining a parole, some were influenced by the ruinous appearance of American affairs, the despair of ultimate success, and a wish to save the remains of their property that had escaped the ravages and devastations of war; others were influenced by the fear of punishment, if they persisted longer in maintaining an opposition apparently fruitless; and not a few by the hope of being suffered to live quietly upon their estates, as prisoners upon parole, and enjoying a kind of neutrality during the remainder of the war. The determination of congress to send a part of general Washington's army to the assistance of their adherents in South Carolina, and the vigorous exertions of the colonies of Virginia and North Carolina to get a body of men in the field for the same purpose, quickly dispelled the apprehensions of the two first of these classes, and roused afresh their hopes; And the last of these classes of men was very early disgusted by the proclamation of sir Henry Clinton, which, without their consent, abrogated the paroles that had been granted, and,

bouring districts. The militia were employed in collecting Indian corn to be ground into meal, which, issued when new, made a good substitute for wheat. They were also employed in collecting cattle and sheep; they were allowed four shillings and eight pence per head for cattle, and two shillings and eleven pence sterling per head for sheep (for driving only). The owners had either a receipt or a certificate given them, (unless avowedly hostile).

in one instant, converted them either into loyal subjects or rebels. If it was proper policy at first to hold a middle course between these opposite extremes, the same policy required that it should have been continued some time longer; and that the condition of the inhabitants should have been altered, rather at their own application, either individually or collectively, than by the arbitrary power of the commander in chief. In this manner a proper discrimination might have been made between the inhabitants who were really loyal, and those who were nominally so: But, by pursuing the opposite course, they were all blended indiscriminately together. Even the violent revolutionist, unless he chose to leave the country, was obliged to assume the appearance of loyalty: And thus the foundation of mutual jealousy and distrust was laid amongst the inhabitants themselves. The revolutionists complained that their condition was altered without their concurrence; and the loyalists murmured because notorious rebels, by taking the oath of allegiance, and putting on a shew of attachment, became entitled to the same privileges with themselves.

Whilst these discontents began to prevail, intelligence arrived that major-general Baron de Kalbe, with a detachment of two thousand men, from Washington's army, had advanced as far as Hillsborough, in North Carolina, and was preparing to move forward to Salisbury, where colonel Porterfield, with three hundred Virginians, and Rutherford, with some North Carolina militia, had taken post: That Caswell, with one thousand five hundred militia of the same province, had marched from Cross Creek to Deep River, in order to join the baron de Kalbe on the road to Salisbury; that two thousand five hundred Virginia militia were upon their march to the southward;

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The detachment from general Washington's army sent to North Carolina.

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Move-
ments of the
American
colonel
Sumpter.

ward; and that the assembly of Virginia had voted five thousand men to be immediately draughted from the militia, who were to serve as corps of observation. This intelligence increased the ill-humour of those inhabitants of South Carolina who were disaffected to the British government, and cherished the spirit of revolt, which began to discover itself; when not long afterwards information was received that congress had determined to make a bold effort for the recovery of South Carolina and Georgia, and that major-general Gates, whose fame had been already established at Saratoga, was appointed to the command of the southern army. Besides those corps of the enemy already mentioned, a colonel Sumpter, who had fled out of the province after the conquest of Charlestown, had influence enough to attach to himself a number of the people in that part of North Carolina where he had taken refuge, and with these, joined to some refugees from his own province, forming a kind of flying camp, he had advanced as far as the Catawba settlement. In consequence of such threatening movements on the part of the enemy, lord Rawdon found it necessary to make an alteration in the disposition of his posts, with a view of making them more compact; and major M'Arthur, whose post at Cheraw Hill was most exposed, received orders to fall back.

About this time, that spirit of revolt, which had been hitherto restrained by the distance of the continental force now advancing to the southward, burst forth into action: And it made its appearance in two different quarters of the province nearly about the same instant of time. Ever since the fall of Charlestown the command of the militia, in the district bordering on the rivers Tyger and Enoree, had been given to a colonel

colonel Floyd, their former commander, colonel Neale, a violent persecutor of the loyalists, having fled out of the province. One Lisle, who had belonged to this corps whilst it was under the command of Neale, and who had been banished to the islands upon the sea-coast as a prisoner upon parole, availing himself of the commander in chief's proclamation of the third of June, took the oath of allegiance, and exchanged his parole for a certificate of his being a good subject. Returning to his former abode, he obtained a command under colonel Floyd, and as soon as the battalion of militia was supplied with arms and ammunition, had the traiterous address to carry it off to colonel Neale, his former commander, who had joined Sumpter in the Catawba settlement. This instance of treachery happened in the north-west quarter of the province; and nearly about the same time a similar instance occurred in the north-east part of it. When it became necessary for major M'Arthur to retire from Cheraw Hill, he embarked in boats the sick of his detachment, amounting to near an hundred, and ordered them to fall down the Pedee, to the British post at Georgetown, under an escort of militia commanded by colonel Mills; but as soon as the boats had proceeded so far as to be out of the reach of assistance from major M'Arthur, the militia rose upon their commanding officer, and carried the sick into North Carolina as prisoners. Colonel Mills with some difficulty made his escape.

Sumpter being joined by the battalion of militia under Lisle, completely armed and furnished with ammunition, his active genius led him to undertake without delay some enterprise against the British outposts. Towards the end of July he marched from the Catawba settlement with nine hundred

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His attempt
on the British
post at
Rocky
Mount.

CHAP. hundred men ; and on the thirtieth of that
 XXXIII. month made an attack on the British post at Rocky
 1780. Mount, where lieutenant colonel Turnbull com-
 manded, with one hundred and fifty of the corps
 of New York volunteers, and some militia. Rocky
 Mount was ably defended by Turnbull, with his
 little garrison ; and Sumpter, after being repulsed
 in three different attacks, with a considerable loss
 of men, was obliged to desist. He retreated again
 towards the Catabaw settlement, without being
 discouraged by the want of success ; and, as soon
 as he had recruited a sufficient number to make
 up for the loss of men sustained at Rocky Mount,
 he returned towards the British cantonments, and
 made an attack upon the post at Hanging Rock.
 This post was occupied by the infantry of the
 legion, part of Brown's corps of provincials, and
 colonel Bryan's North Carolina refugees ; the
 whole being under the command of major Carden
 of the Prince of Wales's American regiment.
 Sumpter directed his attack against that quarter
 of the post which was occupied by colonel Bryan and
 his refugees, and was fortunate enough to surprise
 them : This corps was but ill supplied with am-
 munition, and had no bayonets. It is difficult
 even for the best disciplined men to withstand the
 effects of a surprise ; but, for undisciplined men
 it is impossible. The refugees fled with the utmost
 precipitation, and spread confusion through every
 quarter of the post. Sumpter, profiting by the
 confusion, advanced with rapidity, and for a time
 seemed to carry every thing before him. At
 length the legion of infantry, and the detachment
 from Brown's corps, by making three desperate
 charges with the bayonet, checked his progress.
 Still, however, he persevered, and the fate of the
 attack remained doubtful, when the appearances of
 a reinforcement changed entirely the fortune of
 the

the day. This reinforcement consisted only of forty mounted infantry of the legion who were returning from Rocky Mount: But the captains Stewart and Macdonald, who commanded it, by ordering the men to extend their files, gave it the appearance of a formidable detachment. The bugle horns were directed to sound a charge: And the Americans, already kept at bay, were now fearful of being overpowered, and hastily retreated, leaving behind them about one hundred of their killed and wounded.

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The loss of the British troops in repelling this attack, does not appear to have been exactly ascertained, but it is admitted to have been considerable; and it fell principally upon the legion and the detachment from Brown's regiment, the refugees having fled so early that few of them were either killed or wounded. Major Carden exposed himself to censure and disgrace, by resigning the command to captain Rouslet of the legion in the heat of action.

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Earl Cornwallis sets out from Charlestown to Camden—Action between the Americans under General Gates, and the British under Earl Cornwallis, near Camden—The American Force under Colonel Sumpter surprised by Colonel Tarleton—Perfidy of the Americans—Restrained by Examples of Severity—Lord Cornwallis marches into North Carolina—Defeat and Fall of Major Ferguson.

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IN the mean time the different corps of continental troops and militia, commanded by the baron de Kalbe, Caswell, Rutherford, and Porterfield, having formed a junction, entered the province of South Carolina. General Gates joined them on the twenty-seventh of July; and the whole, under his command, advanced by the main road towards Camden. In order to stop their progress, lord Rawdon moved forward, with the force under his command at Camden, and took a strong position about fourteen miles in front of it, upon the west branch of Lynche's Creek. General Gates advanced on the opposite side; and the two armies continued for several days opposed to each other, with the creek only intervening between their advanced parties. Whilst the opposite armies lay in this situation, orders were sent to lieutenant-colonel Cruger to forward with all haste to Camden the four companies of light infantry stationed at Ninety-six; and intelligence being received of a movement made by the Americans towards their right, orders were sent to the

British

British officer commanding at Rugeley's Mills, to evacuate his post, which was exposed on account of its advanced situation, and, after sending part of his detachment to join the army, to retire with the rest to Camden. By the evacuation of the post at Rugeley's Mills the road leading from Wexhaws to Camden was left unguarded; and lord Rawdon, fearing that general Gates might attempt to pass him by this road, and get into his rear, found it necessary to fall back from Lynche's Creek, nearer to Camden, and took a new position at Logtown. By this time almost all the inhabitants between Black River and Pedee had openly revolted and joined the Americans; and, in other quarters, they seemed disposed to follow the example, whenever it could be done with security. Sumpter, with his force increased by a detachment of a continental soldiers, was sent across the Wateree to favour the revolt of the inhabitants on the south west side of that river, and to intercept the supplies and reinforcements on the road to Camden; and general Gates, in order to preserve a communication with Sumpter, moved to his right up the north side of Lynche's Creek, and took post at Rugeley's Mills, intending to advance from thence, by the Waxhaw road, to Camden. Information of these movements on the part of the enemy being regularly transmitted by lord Rawdon to Charlestown, earl Cornwallis thought it necessary to postpone the completion of the civil arrangements in which he had for some time past been engaged, and to proceed to Camden, where the threatening aspect of affairs required all his immediate attention. He set out from Charlestown in the evening of the tenth, and arrived at Camden in the evening of the thirteenth, of August. The following day he spent in examining the condition of his own force, and in

Earl
Cornwallis
sets out
from Char-
lestown to
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obtaining information of that of the enemy: Nearly eight hundred British troops were sick at Camden. The number of those who were really effective, amounted to something more than two thousand, including officers, of whom about fifteen hundred were regulars, or belonged to established provincial corps, and the rest, militia and refugees from North Carolina. The force under general Gates was represented to amount to six thousand men, exclusive of Sumpter's corps, which was estimated at one thousand: The American accounts, since published, say that general Gates's army, even including Sumpter's corps, did not much exceed five thousand men; but we have ground for believing that general Gates's force was little less than six thousand strong. But almost the whole country seemed upon the eve of a revolt*. The communication between Camden and

* The militia of South Carolina were in general faithless, and altogether dissatisfied in the British service. One great cause of complaint with them was, that their horses were frequently pressed for the cavalry and quarter-master-general's department; and that those who could obtain certificates for them at a fair price, were nevertheless great losers by disposing of those certificates to men who purchased them at an enormous discount, a speculation which very much injured the public credit in that colony. It is to be observed that a distinction was made between a RECEIPT and a CERTIFICATE. Where the word Receipt was made use of, it was intended that the proprietor should be paid upon his presenting it at Charlestown, and many of those receipts were afterwards actually paid by orders on the paymaster-general. Where the word Certificate was made use of, it was intended as an evidence in the hands of the holder, of such and such property being taken, its payment to depend on contingencies. This regulation governed the conduct of the commissary until lord Cornwallis moved from Wynneshorough in January 1781; then when receipts were given, they not only specified the property, but the value of that property, which gave them a negotiable authority. When certificates were given, the property was specified, but no value affixed. Its payment, as before, was to depend on the merit or demerit of the party at the end of the war.

and Charlestown appeared in danger of being cut off by the enterprising movements of Sumpter, whose numbers were daily encreasing by the junction of disaffected inhabitants. The safety of the army depended upon preserving a communication with the sea coast; and something was necessary to be done immediately for extricating it from its perilous situation. At this juncture a retreat to Charlestown might have been effected without much difficulty; but the sick must have been left behind, the magazines of stores either abandoned or destroyed, and the loss of the whole country would have necessarily followed, except indeed Charlestown, in which there was already a sufficient garrison for its defence. A defeat could not be much more injurious in its consequences than such a retreat: And where the motives for action so strongly preponderated, there was not much room for deliberation in the breast of an officer of so much enterprise as lord Cornwallis. Confiding in the valour and discipline of his troops, however inferior in number, he resolved to move forward and attack the enemy, whose present situation at Rugeley's Mills inclined him to execute his intention without delay. Meaning to attack them early in the morning of the sixteenth of August, and to point his attack principally against the continental regiments, whose position, from the information he had received, he knew to be a bad one, earl Cornwallis began his march towards Rugeley's Mills, at ten in the evening of the fifteenth of August, committing the defence of Camden to major M'Arthur, with some provincials, militia,

war. Receipts were frequently refused; but certificates never, unless the person whose property had been taken was known to be a decided enemy, and his character marked by acts of inhumanity towards the loyalists.

convalescents

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Action be-
tween the
'Americans
under gene-
ral Gates,
and the Bri-
tish, under
the earl
Cornwallis,
near Cam-
den.

convalescents of the army, and a detachment of the sixty-third regiment, which was expected to arrive during the night. The army marched in the following order: The front division, commanded by lieutenant colonel Webster, consisted of four companies of light-infantry, and the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, preceded by twenty cavalry, and as many mounted infantry of the legion, as an advanced guard. The centre division consisted of the volunteers of Ireland, the legion of infantry, Hamilton's North Carolina regiment, and colonel Bryan's refugees, under the command of lord Rawdon. And the two battalions of the seventy-first regiment followed as a reserve; the dragoons of the legion forming the rear-guard. It is not a little singular that the same night nearly about the same time, and with a similar intention, general Gates should have left his encampment at Rugeley's Mills, and moved forward towards Camden. Both armies marching on the same road, in opposite directions, their advanced guards met and fired upon each other about two in the morning. Some prisoners were made on both sides; and from these the respective commanders became acquainted with the movements of the other: Both armies halted and were formed; and the firing soon afterwards ceased as if by mutual consent. The ground on which the two armies had accidentally met was as favourable for lord Cornwallis as he could have wished: A swamp on each side secured his flanks, and narrowed the ground in front, so as to render the superiority of the enemy in numbers of less consequence: He therefore waited with impatience for the approach of day; and as soon as it appeared made his last disposition for the attack. The front line was made up of the two divisions of the army already mentioned under lord Rawdon and lieutenant-

tenant-colonel Webster, Webster's division being to the right, and lord Rawdon's to the left. These divisions were disposed in such a manner, that the thirty-third regiment, on the left of Webster's, communicating with the volunteers of Ireland, on the right of lord Rawdon's, formed the centre of the line; and to the front line were attached two six-pounders, and two three-pounders, under the direction of lieutenant Macleod of the royal artillery. The seventy-first regiment, with two six-pounders, formed a second line, or reserve, one battalion being posted behind each wing; and in the rear of the whole, the cavalry were ready either to charge or pursue, as circumstances might require.

The American army was also formed in two lines, general Gist's brigade of continental troops being on the right, the North Carolina militia in the centre, and the Virginia militia, which had joined the army only the day before, with the light-infantry, and Porterfield's corps, being on the left. The first Maryland brigade formed a second line or corps de reserve: And the artillery was divided between the two brigades.

The opposite armies being thus ranged in order of battle, and some movement being observed on the left of the provincial line, as if a change of disposition had been intended, lord Cornwallis deemed this the critical moment for beginning the action, and gave orders to lieutenant-colonel Webster to advance and charge the enemy. The order was immediately executed with such alacrity, and the charge made with so much promptitude and success, that the Virginia militia, quickly giving way, threw down their arms and fled, and were soon afterwards followed by the greatest part of the militia of North Carolina. The American reserve was now brought into action; and

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and general Gates, in conjunction with general Caswell, retiring with the militia, endeavoured to rally them at different advantageous passes in the rear of the field of action, but in vain: They ran at first like a torrent, and afterwards spread through the woods in every direction. Lord Rawdon began the action on the left with no less vigour and spirit than Webster had done on the right; but here, and in the centre, against part of Webster's division, the contest was more obstinately maintained by the Americans, whose artillery did considerable execution. Their left flank was, however, exposed by the flight of the militia; and the light-infantry and twenty-third regiment, who had been opposed to the fugitives, instead of pursuing them, wheeled to the left and came upon the flank of the continentals, who, after a brave resistance for near three quarters of an hour, were thrown into total confusion, and forced to give way in all quarters. Their rout was completed by the cavalry, who continued the pursuit to Hanging Rock, twenty-two miles from the field of action. Between eight and nine hundred of the enemy were killed in the action, and in the pursuit, and about one thousand made prisoners, many of whom were wounded. Of this number, were major-general baron de Kalbe, and brigadier-general Rutherford. The former of these officers at the head of a continental regiment of infantry, made a vigorous charge on the left wing of the British army, and when wounded and taken prisoner would scarcely believe that the provincial army had been defeated. He died of his wounds a few days after the action, much regretted by the Americans. One hundred and fifty waggons, a considerable quantity of military stores, and all the baggage and camp equipage of the provincial army, a number of colours, and

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and seven pieces of cannon, were taken. General Gates, who retired with the militia to endeavour to rally them, finding all his efforts vain, gave up every thing as lost, and fled first to Charlotte, ninety miles from the place of action; and from thence to Hillsborough, in North Carolina, one hundred and eighty miles from Camden.—General Gist alone, of all the American commanders, was able to keep together about one hundred men, who flying across a swamp on their right, through which they could not be pursued by the British dragoons, made good their retreat in a body. The loss of the British troops in this battle amounted to three hundred and twenty-five, of whom sixty-nine were killed, two hundred and forty-five wounded, and eleven missing. The weight of the action fell upon the thirty-third regiment in the left of Webster's division, and the volunteers of Ireland in the right of Lord Rawdon's; and of course, by them the greatest loss was sustained, which amounted to two thirds of the whole. The road for some miles was strewed with the wounded and killed, who had been overtaken by the legion in their pursuit. The number of dead horses, broken waggons, and baggage, scattered on the road, formed a perfect scene of horror and confusion: Arms, knapsacks, and accoutrements found were innumerable; such was the terror and dismay of the Americans. The number of killed, wounded, and taken, exceeded the number of British regular troops in the action by at least three hundred. Lord Cornwallis's judgment in planning, his promptitude in executing, and his fortitude and coolness during the time of the action, justly attracted universal applause and admiration. The Lord Rawdon, who was only twenty-five years of age, bore a very conspicuous part in this day's action. Colo-

nel

CHAP. nel Webster's conduct was consistent with his general character: Cool, determined, vigilant, and active in action, he added to a reputation established by long service, the universal esteem and respect of the whole army, as an officer of great experience and observation as well as bravery and rigid discipline. In a word, every British officer and soldier evinced in this day's action the most perfect intrepidity and valour. The American wounded were treated with the utmost humanity.

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General Gates's conduct has been much censured. We are told no place was appointed for rendezvous in case of a defeat: His baggage should have been much farther in the rear: By delay Gates must have added to his strength every hour, but he was confident of success.

General Gates's army being thus completely ruined and dispersed, the only provincial force in South Carolina which remained entire was that under Sumpter on the other side of the Wateree. Had he been permitted to retire into North Carolina unmolested, his force, small as it was, would have been sufficient to occupy a convenient station for collecting the scattered remains of the American army: It was therefore of importance to strike at his corps, and endeavour to cut it off. An object of so much consequence did not escape the attention of the commander in chief; and in the evening of the day of the engagement orders were sent to lieutenant colonel Turnbull, who, with the New York volunteers, upon evacuating the post at Rocky Mount, had joined major Ferguson's corps on Little River, to endeavour to intercept Sumpter in his retreat. The light-infantry and the legion, who were destined to proceed on the same service, being exhausted with the fatigues of the day, were suffered to repose themselves during the night, but received orders to be in readiness

readiness to march early the next morning, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. On the following morning this active and enterprising officer, in pursuance of his orders, set out with his detachment, amounting to three hundred and fifty men, and receiving intelligence, during his march, of the retreat of Sumpter along the western banks of the Wateree, pursued so closely, that, after passing the river at Rocky Mount Ford, he overtook him at two in the afternoon of the eighteenth of August, near the Catawba Ford, when he was within a few hours march of reaching a friendly settlement. Sumpter, upon hearing of general Gates's defeat at Camden, immediately began his retreat, and moved with so much dispatch, that, thinking himself already out of all danger, he had encamped at this early hour to give his men some repose during the heat of the day. The surprise was so complete, that the British soldiers, both cavalry and infantry, entered the American camp, and cut off the provincials from their arms and artillery before they had time to assemble. Some opposition was however made from behind the waggons in front of the militia, but the universal consternation which prevailed rendered it ineffectual. One hundred and fifty of the provincials were either killed or wounded, and upwards of three hundred made prisoners. Sumpter's force consisted of one hundred continental soldiers, seven hundred militia, and two pieces of cannon: And he had in his train about two hundred and fifty prisoners, part of them British soldiers, and the rest loyal militia, a number of waggons laden with rum and other stores for the British, which he had taken in the neighbourhood of Camden, on the opposite side of the river. The prisoners were all released, and the waggons retaken: And the whole of the provincial

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The American force under colonel Sumpter surprised by colonel Tarleton.

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cial stores, ammunition, and baggage, with their artillery, and one thousand stand of arms, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Sumpter, by riding off without waiting to put on his coat, which he had laid aside on account of the heat of the weather, made his escape; but the rest of his detachment were all either killed, taken, or dispersed. The rapidity of Tarleton's march had been so great, that when he arrived at Fishing Creek, more than one half of his detachment, overpowered with fatigue, could proceed no farther. With only one hundred dragoons, and sixty of the light-infantry, he continued the pursuit; and with this small number the victory was achieved. The loss of the British detachment was inconsiderable: It amounted to only nine killed, and six wounded; but unfortunately, amongst the former, was captain Charles Campbell, who commanded the light-infantry, a young officer of the most promising abilities, whose death was greatly lamented.

By the victory gained over general Gates at Camden, and the rout and total dispersion of his army, followed so soon after by the defeat and ruin of the corps under Sumpter, the provincial force to the southward seemed for a time entirely annihilated; and nothing prevented earl Cornwallis from proceeding immediately on his long-projected expedition into North Carolina, but the want of some supplies for the army, which were on their way from Charlestown. In the mean time emissaries were again sent into North Carolina, with instructions to the friends of government to take arms, and seize the most violent of their persecutors, with all the magazines and stores for the use of the American government, under an assurance that the British army would march without loss of time to their support.

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Perfidy of
the Ameri-
cansrestrained
by examples
of severity.

The delay occasioned by waiting for the stores, gave time to the commander in chief again to employ his thoughts upon the internal affairs of the province, and to form some new regulations which recent events and circumstances had rendered more immediately necessary. It was now apparent, by the revolts that had taken place upon the approach of general Gates, and by the number of militia who had joined him after exchanging their paroles for protections, and swearing allegiance to the British government, that those persons were not to be depended upon, that the lenity which had been shewn to them had been abused, and that it was become necessary to restrain their perfidy by examples of severity, and the terrors of punishment. With this view, the estates of all those who had left the province to join the enemies of Great Britain, or who were employed in the service, or held commissions under the authority of congress, and also of all those who continued to oppose the re-establishment of his majesty's government within the province, were ordered to be sequestered: A commissioner was appointed to seize upon them; and after a sufficient allowance was made for the support of the wives and families of such delinquents, the residue of the annual produce of their estates was to be accounted for to the paymaster-general of the forces, and to be applied to the public service. Instant death was again denounced against those who, having taken protections from the British government, should afterwards join the enemy; and, to impress them with an idea that this punishment would be hereafter rigorously inflicted, some few of the most hardened of the militia, who had been taken in general Gates's army with arms in their hands, and protections in their pockets, were actually executed. But
perfidy,

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perfidy, it seems, was not confined to the lower ranks of men: By letters found upon some of the officers of general Gates's army, it was discovered that even persons of superior rank, prisoners upon parole in Charlestown, had held an improper correspondence with their friends in the country. In consequence of this discovery, those persons, and some others, against whom there were strong circumstances of suspicion, were at first put on board the prison-ships, and afterwards sent to St. Augustine, in East Florida, where paroles were again allowed to them, but under such restrictions as their recent conduct rendered necessary.

Lord Cornwallis
marches
into North
Carolina.

As soon as the necessary supplies arrived, lord Cornwallis on the eighth of September began his march from Camden, proceeding through the hostile settlement of Waxhaws to Charlotte-town, in the back parts of North Carolina. This march was no doubt projected with a view of bearing down all opposition: His lordship was to pass through the most hostile parts of either province with the main army, whilst major Ferguson, with his corps of loyal militia, was to advance still nearer to the frontiers; and lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry, and the light and legion infantry, to pursue an intermediate course, and move up the western banks of the Wateree. On the right of his lordship's march, but at a considerable distance, was the friendly settlement of highlanders, at Cross Creek, and on his left another friendly settlement in Tryon County. If he was able to reduce to obedience the inveterate inhabitants of the tract of country through which the main army marched, a communication might be opened between the friendly settlements on the right and left, a powerful assistance derived from their co-operation, and the speedy reduction of the

the whole province reasonably expected. The previous measures appeared well adapted to the end : And the reduction of the province of North Carolina was undoubtedly at this time confidently looked for. But to confound human wisdom, and set at nought the arrogance and presumption of man, unexpected incidents daily arise in the affairs of human life, which, conducted by an invisible hand, derange the best-concerted schemes, as will be exemplified in the event of the present expedition.

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The march of the main army was performed without any material occurrence, except that a number of the convalescents relapsed into their former state of illness, and were left behind at Blair's Mills, under the care of major M'Arthur, who remained there, with the seventy-first regiment, for their protection, for the security of the mills, and for preserving the communication with Camden. Tarleton, with the cavalry and light-infantry, received orders to pass the Catawba at Blair's Ford : And Charlotte was taken possession of after a slight resistance from the militia towards the end of September. At this period, major Hanger commanded the legion, colonel Tarleton being ill. In the centre of Charlotte, intersecting the two principal streets, stood a large brick building, the upper part being the court-house, and the under part the market-house. Behind the shambles a few Americans on horseback had placed themselves. The legion was ordered to drive them off ; but, upon receiving a fire from behind the stalls, this corps fell back. Lord Cornwallis rode up in person, and made use of these words :—" Legion, remember you have every thing to lose, but nothing to gain ;" alluding, as was supposed, to the former reputation of this corps. Webster's brigade moved on and
drove

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drove the Americans from behind the court-house; the legion then pursued them; but the whole of the British army was actually kept at bay, for some minutes, by a few mounted Americans, not exceeding twenty in number.

The vicinity of Charlotte abounded with mills*; and the army, during its stay, was sufficiently supplied with provisions, notwithstanding the hostile disposition of the inhabitants. So inveterate was their rancour, that the messengers, with expresses for the commander in chief, were frequently murdered; and the inhabitants, instead of remaining quietly at home to receive payment for the produce of their plantations, made it a practice to way-lay the British foraging parties, fire their rifles from concealed places, and then fly into the woods†. Nevertheless Charlotte, from

* In colonel Polk's mill was found twenty-eight thousand weight of flour, and a quantity of wheat.

† There were several large, well cultivated farms in the neighbourhood of Charlotte: An abundance of cattle; few sheep; the cattle being mostly milch-cows, or cows with calf, which at that season of the year was the best beef; for the cattle in North and South Carolina run wild in the woods, and at this season are in general very poor. As an instance, when the army was at Charlotte, we killed upon an average 100 head per day. The amount of rations issued, including the army departments, militia, negroes, &c. was 4.100 per day. The leanness of the cattle will account for the number killed each day. This was not confined to Charlotte; for they were poor at this season throughout the Carolinas; very few of the oxen were fit to kill. In one day no less than 37 cows in calf were slaughtered: Necessity only justified this measure. At this period the royal army was supported by lord Rawdon's moving with one half of the army one day, and colonel Webster, with the other half, the next day, as a covering party, to protect the foraging parties and cattle-drivers. This measure was rendered necessary from the hostile disposition of the inhabitants. Wheat and rye were collected in the straw, Indian corn in the husk, and brought in waggons to Charlotte, where (in the court-house) it was threshed out by the militia and negroes, and then sent to the mill.

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from its intermediate position between Camden and Salisbury, was a convenient situation to be occupied whenever the army should advance farther into North Carolina; and here, accordingly, lord Cornwallis intended to establish a post. But whilst he was taking measures for this purpose, the unwelcome news arrived of the defeat of major Ferguson; the fall of that officer, and the destruction, captivity, or dispersion of his whole corps. The total loss of so considerable a detachment, from the operations of which so much was expected, put a stop, for the present, to the farther progress of the commander in chief, and obliged him to fall back into South Carolina, for the protection of its western borders against the incursions of a horde of mountaineers, whose appearance was as unexpected as their success was fatal to the prosecution of the intended expedition.

This was attended with much trouble and fatigue to the army; nevertheless meal was not wanting; cattle there were in abundance. When a cow calves in the Carolinas, the owner marks the calf, and turns it into the woods, where it remains for three or four, and even seven, years, without ever being brought out. Individual farmers have marked from twelve to fifteen hundred calves in one year. It would never answer to fodder such a number of cattle. The climate being very much to the southward, admits of their running in the woods all the winter, where a species of coarse wild grass grows most luxuriantly all the year. Pennsylvania and Maryland do not raise black cattle sufficient for their own consumption. The drovers from Pennsylvania go to the Carolinas, purchase these lean cattle at a very low price, and bring them to Pennsylvania, where they are fatted in the rich meadows on the banks of the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers for market. This will explain, in some degree, why the Carolinas suffered so much during the war; for the planter's property consisted chiefly in cattle and negroes, there not being white inhabitants sufficient to cultivate the land; the planter's asserting, that, without negroes, indigo and rice could not be cultivated, the whites not being able to bear the heat of the climate: The negroes in general followed the British army,

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The Americans under Colonel Clarke make an Attack on Augusta—Retreat of Clarke—The Detachment under Major Ferguson attacked and overpowered by American Mountaineers—Lord Cornwallis falls back to South Carolina—Colonel Tarleton checks the Inroads of the American Partizan Marion—Junction of the American Forces under Sumpter, Clarke, and Brannen—Action at Blackstock's Hill between Sumpter and Tarleton.

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The Americans under colonel Clarke make an attack on Augusta.

IN order to trace the causes of an event so important in its consequences as the defeat of major Ferguson, it will be necessary to go a little farther back. A colonel Clarke, an inhabitant of Georgia, who had fled from that province after its reduction by colonel Campbell in 1779, having attached to himself some followers on the frontiers of North and South Carolina, made his way through these provinces, his numbers increasing as he advanced, until he reached the province of Georgia, where, during the march of lord Cornwallis from Camden to Charlotte, he made an attack upon the British post at Augusta. Here lieutenant-colonel Brown commanded, with a garrison of one hundred and fifty provincials; and as the town did not afford an eligible position for defence, he marched from thence with his garrison, and some friendly Indians, whom he had called to his assistance, towards Garden Hill, an eminence on the banks of the Savannah. This hill he found was already occupied by the enemy; but,

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but, bringing his cannon to bear upon them, and at the same time making a charge with his whole force, the enemy were dislodged, after a desperate conflict of twenty minutes, at the end of which, lieutenant colonel Brown gained possession of the hill, although with the loss of his cannon, the troops which he had under him not being sufficient in number to force the one and secure the other. This post, so gallantly won, he bravely maintained, under many disadvantages, until lieutenant-colonel Cruger, who had intelligence of Clarke's motions, arrived from Ninety-six, and brought a detachment to his assistance. Clarke, receiving information of Cruger's march, endeavoured by menaces of cruelty to intimidate Brown into a surrender of the post; but finding his menaces ineffectual, he hastily decamped, upon the nearer approach of the reinforcement, and retreated with his followers. These had originally amounted to about seven hundred men; but in the different conflicts with the garrison, and in the blockade of Garden Hill, Clarke had lost about one-sixth part of his number. On the part of the British troops, captain Johnson was killed, and lieutenant-colonel Brown wounded: The loss in other respects was inconsiderable, and fell principally upon the Indians. The retreat of Clarke and his followers was so precipitate, that, although a pursuit was ordered; very few prisoners were made, but the British cannon were retaken. Still, however, it was hoped that Clarke's retreat might be cut off, as major Ferguson, with his corps, traversed the country between him and North Carolina; and intelligence was accordingly sent to that officer, acquainting him with the route which he had taken. Major Ferguson, whose zeal in the service of his king and country, was equal to his other great abilities as an officer,

Retreat of
Clarke.

CHAP. did not fail to take immediate measures for accomplishing an object so desirable, and advanced nearer to the mountains than the other purposes of his expedition probably required: But, unfortunately for his success, another enemy appeared at this juncture, whose superiority in numbers it was hazardous to encounter, and whose rapidity of movement rendered a retreat difficult in his present advanced situation. This enemy was composed of men who had assembled from different views and with different objects, and the union of their force against Ferguson was in a great measure accidental. The first division of these men consisted of the wild and fierce inhabitants of Kentucky, and other settlements westward of the Alleganey Mountains, who, assembling under the colonels Campbell and Boone, passed the mountains, with an intention of seizing upon a quantity of presents which they understood were but slightly guarded at Augusta, and which were about that time to have been distributed amongst the Creek and Cherokee Indians. After passing the mountains they heard of Clarke's repulse at Augusta, and from his failure, conceiving their own force to be insufficient for attempting the post, they turned their thoughts towards Ferguson, whose movements on the frontiers, indicating an approach to their country, gave them considerable alarm. In this new design they were joined by a colonel Williams, an American partizan of the district of Ninety-six, with a considerable number of followers. The other division of these men, consisting of the inhabitants about Holston River, Powel's Valley, Berkeley, Botetourt, and Fincastle, on the frontiers of Virginia, had assembled under the colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, Brandon, and Lacy, with a view of opposing the advance of the British army towards their

their settlements: But after they had proceeded some distance on their march, thinking themselves unable to attempt any direct opposition to the army under lord Cornwallis, they too bent their force against the devoted Ferguson, who they understood had taken post with his corps at Gilbert-town, in the vicinity of the mountains: Thither, therefore, they directed their march. These men were all well mounted on horseback and armed with rifles: each carried his own provisions in a wallet, so that no incumbrance of waggons, nor delays of public departments, impeded their movements. Ferguson's vigilance nevertheless prevented a surprise: Whilst they were yet at some distance, he received intelligence of their approach, by means of his emissaries, and immediately began a retreat towards the British army, sending forward messengers to acquaint lord Cornwallis with his danger; but these unfortunately were intercepted. When the different divisions of mountaineers reached Gilbert-town, which was nearly about the same time, they amounted to upwards of three thousand men. From these, fifteen hundred of the best were selected, who, mounted on fleet horses, were sent in pursuit of Ferguson, and overtook him at King's Mountain on the ninth of October. At this place he had halted, upon the near approach of the enemy, and, after occupying the best position he could find, determined to wait the attack. King's Mountain, from its height, was undoubtedly an eligible situation for receiving an attack; but in another respect it was advantageous to the assailants: Being covered with wood, it afforded them an opportunity of fighting in their own way, by placing themselves behind trees. When they approached the mountain they divided into different bodies, and under their respective leaders made the

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The detachment under major Ferguson attacked and overpowered

CHAP. the attack from different quarters. Colonel
 XXXV. Cleveland's detachment first engaged, but was
 quickly obliged to retire from the approaching
 bayonet. Scarcely had this detachment given
 way, when another under colonel Shelby, from
 an unexpected quarter, poured in a well-directed
 fire; the bayonet, however, was again successful,
 and obliged this detachment also to fall back. By
 this time the party under colonel Campbell had
 ascended the mountain, and renewed the attack
 from a different quarter. Major Ferguson, whose
 conduct was equal to his courage, quickly pre-
 sented a new front, and was again successful.
 But as often as one of the American parties was
 driven back, another returned to its former station,
 and, sheltered behind the trees, poured in
 an irregular but destructive fire. In this manner
 the engagement was maintained for near an hour,
 the mountaineers flying whenever they were in
 danger of being charged with the bayonet, and
 returning as soon as the British detachment had
 faced about to repel another of their parties. Already
 an hundred and fifty of major Ferguson's
 corps were slain, and a greater number wounded:
 Still, however, the unconquerable spirit of that
 gallant officer refused to surrender: He persevered,
 and repulsed a succession of attacks from
 every quarter, until he received a mortal wound.
 By the fall of major Ferguson his men were undoubtedly
 disheartened: Animated by his brave example, they
 had hitherto persevered under all their disadvantages:
 In the resources of his fruitful genius they deservedly
 placed the utmost confidence; and with him perished
 all their hopes of success. Under such circumstances,
 the second in command, judging all farther resistance
 to be vain, offered to surrender, and sued for quarter.
 The prisoners, including the wounded, amounted to
 eight

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 ed by American
 mountaineers.

eight hundred and ten: Of these, about one hundred only were British regulars. The loss of the Americans, in the number of killed, was trifling, but they had a considerable number wounded: And brilliant as their success was, they shamefully stained the laurels they had won by cruelties exercised upon the prisoners, ten of whom were hanged immediately after the action.

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Much had been expected from the exertions of major Ferguson in collecting a force upon the frontiers: And by his unfortunate fall, and the slaughter, captivity, or dispersion of his whole corps, the plan of the expedition into North Carolina was entirely deranged. At Polk's Mill, near Charlotte, a small detachment of the twenty-third regiment was posted, commanded by lieutenant Guyon, a very young man: The Americans made an attack upon the mill, with a very superior force, but were repulsed. Lieutenant Guyon's conduct was highly applauded. The western frontiers of South Carolina were now exposed to the incursions of the mountaineers; and it became necessary for lord Cornwallis to fall back for their protection, and to wait for a reinforcement before he could proceed farther upon his expedition. Fortunately the friends of government in North Carolina, rendered cautious by their misfortunes in former insurrections, had not been so ready to take arms as was expected: No general rising had taken place; so that the retreat of the British army did not much increase, although it prolonged their sufferings.

On the fourteenth of October, which was as soon after lord Cornwallis received certain intelligence of the loss of Ferguson's detachment as the army could be put in motion, he began his march back to South Carolina. Nearly about

Lord Cornwallis falls back to South Carolina.

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about this time lord Cornwallis fell sick, and continued ill for some time; the command devolved on lord Rawdon. In this retreat the king's troops suffered much, encountering the greatest difficulties; the soldiers had no tents; it rained for several days without intermission; the roads were over their shoes in water and mud. At night, when the army took up its ground, it encamped in the woods, in a most unhealthy climate; for many days without rum. Sometimes the army had beef and no bread; at other times bread and no beef. For five days it was supported upon Indian corn, which was collected as it stood in the field, five ears of which were the allowance for two soldiers for twenty-four hours. They were to cook it as they could, which was generally done by parching it before the fire. In riding through the encampment of the militia, the Author discovered them grating their corn, which was done by two men of a mess breaking up their tin canteens, and with a bayonet punching holes through the tin; this made a kind of rasp, on which they grated their corn: The idea was communicated to the adjutant-general, and it was afterwards adopted throughout the army. The water that the army drank was frequently as thick as puddle. Few armies ever encountered greater difficulties and hardships; the soldiers bore them with great patience, and without a murmur: Their attachment to their commander supported them in the day of adversity; knowing, as they did, that their officers', and even lords Cornwallis and Rawdon's fare was not better than their own. Yet, with all their resolution and patience, they could not have proceeded but for the personal exertions of the militia, who, with a zeal that did them infinite honour, rendered the most important services. The continual rains had swelled
the

the rivers and creeks prodigiously, and rendered the roads almost impassable. The waggon and artillery horses were quite exhausted with fatigue by the time the army had reached Sugar Creek. This creek was very rapid, its banks nearly perpendicular, and the soil, being clay, as slippery as ice. The horses were taken out of some of the waggons, and the militia, harnessed in their stead, drew the waggons through the creek. We are sorry to say, that, in return for these exertions, the militia were maltreated, by abusive language, and even beaten by some officers in the quartermaster general's department: In consequence of this ill usage, several of them left the army next morning, for ever, chusing to run the risk of meeting the resentment of their enemies rather than submit to the derision and abuse of those to whom they looked up as friends*.

At length the army reached the Catawba, which was forded by the troops. This river is

* The militia, most of them being mounted on horseback, were not in so weak a state as the regulars; but they were not without their share of toil and trouble, added to their exertions already mentioned: For as soon as the army had taken up its ground for the night, to endeavour to procure a limited and scanty rest, the duty of the militia began. They were assembled by the Author, who always attended them in person, and went in quest of provisions, which were collected daily from the country through which the army marched: Nor were their difficulties on this service trifling; they were obliged to ride through rivers, creeks, woods, and swamps, to hunt out the cattle. This service was their constant and daily duty; they were frequently opposed; sometimes worsted, and with no inconsiderable loss. In short, so essentially necessary was this unfortunate description of people, that it was impossible to have supported his Majesty's army in the field without them. Cattle-driving was of itself a perfect business; it required great art and experience to get the cattle out of the woods. The commissary was under the greatest obligations to those people, without whose assistance he could not possibly have found provisions for the army.

CHAP. fix hundred yards wide, and three and a half feet
 XXXV. deep. Two hundred rifle-men placed on the op-
 1780. posite bank must have destroyed many of our men
 before we could have gained the shore. On
 the twenty-ninth of October the army arrived at
 Wynnesborough, an intermediate station between
 Camden and Ninety-six: The army, thus en-
 camped, was at hand either to succour Camden or
 Ninety-six; and covered from the enemy's incur-
 sions all the country behind to the sea-coast. Lord
 Cornwallis, however, did not expect to remain
 long without such a reinforcement as would enable
 him to prosecute his further designs; as he had
 under his orders a detachment commanded by ge-
 neral Leslie, which had been sent to Virginia by
 sir Henry Clinton, as soon as he received infor-
 mation of the defeat of Gates at Camden. This
 detachment was sent to Virginia with a view of
 co-operating with lord Cornwallis, upon a suppo-
 sition that he would proceed upon his expedition
 into North Carolina immediately after the battle
 of Camden; and the detachment was of course
 put under his lordship's orders. But as that ex-
 pedition was necessarily postponed, earl Corn-
 wallis sent orders to general Leslie to bring his de-
 tachment by water round to Charlestown, and
 join him at Wynnesborough.

In the mean time the mountaineers, contented
 with their success against Ferguson, had gone
 home and dispersed: But the north-east parts of
 the province were infested by the depredations of
 an enterprising partizan of the name of Marion.
 This man, previous to the defeat of general
 Gates, had been active in stirring up the inhabi-
 tants upon Black River to revolt; but after that
 event had thought it prudent for some time to re-
 tire out of the province. He had now again re-
 turned,

turned, and, traversing the country between the rivers Pedee and Santee, without opposition, was so successful in stirring up rebellion, that the whole of that district was upon the eve of a revolt. The number of his followers too had so increased that he was enabled to send parties across the Santee, and threatened to interrupt the communication between Camden and Charlestown. To repress his incursions, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was sent against him with the light-infantry and legion. That officer, after obtaining information of Marion's strength, which he found to be not so great as it had been represented, endeavoured, by concealing his own, to invite an attack, and had nearly succeeded. Marion advanced within two miles of the British encampment; but being then informed of his danger, immediately retreated amongst the swamps and marshes, through which it was impossible to follow him. This expedition was however serviceable in another respect, by convincing the inhabitants, that if they swerved from their allegiance, there was still a power in the province capable of punishing them.

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Colonel
Tarleton
checks the
inroads of
the American
partisan Ma-
rion.

Nearly about the same time, and whilst the light-infantry and cavalry were absent upon this expedition, Sumpter again made his appearance in the north-west part of the province. After his defeat on the eighteenth of August he had retired into a remote part of the province called the New Acquisition, the inhabitants of which had not yet submitted to the British arms. Here he was indefatigable in stirring them up to take arms; and the reputation he had already acquired, with his peculiar talent for enterprise, in a short time procured him a number of followers. With these
he

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he now advanced towards the British quarters, intending to form a junction with colonels Clarke and Brannen, and with their united force to attack the British post at Ninety-six. Earl Cornwallis receiving intelligence of his approach, laid a plan for surprising him in his camp at Fish Dam, upon Broad River, the execution of which was committed to major Wemyss, of the sixty-third regiment. That officer accordingly marched from Wynnesborough in the evening, with the sixty-third regiment mounted, and about forty of the legion cavalry that had been left behind when Tarleton marched into the eastern parts of the province, intending to make his attack at day-break in the morning; but reaching the place of his destination sooner than he expected, and fearful lest the enemy should discover him before it was light, and have time to escape, he ventured to make his attack in the night. At the head of his detachment he charged the enemy's piquet; but, unfortunately, from five shot only, that were fired before the piquet retired, he received two dangerous wounds; and to this accident Sumpter probably owed his safety. The command now devolved upon a young lieutenant, unacquainted with the plan, the ground, or the strength of the enemy, and all was confusion. Sumpter had time to draw out his troops; and the British detachment was repulsed, and obliged to retire, leaving behind their commander, and about twenty of their number killed or wounded.

Junction of
the American
forces
under
Sumpter,
Clarke, and
Brannen.

Sumpter now crossed the Broad River, and formed the intended junction with Clarke and Brannen; and lord Cornwallis, alarmed for the safety of Ninety-six, sent an express to recall Tarleton with the light troops from the eastern parts of the province.

province. He had orders to proceed by the nearest route against Sumpter: The sixty-third regiment was sent forward to join him upon his march; and the seventy-first advanced to take post at Brierley's Ferry for supporting him. Sumpter moved forward with great confidence, because he knew of the absence of the British light troops in the eastern parts of the province; and Tarleton, after receiving lord Cornwallis's express, came back with so much expedition, that he had nearly got behind Sumpter's corps before the latter was aware of his return. In the night preceding the day on which Tarleton expected to effect his purpose, by marching up the banks of the Enoree, Sumpter was apprised of his danger by a deserter from the sixty-third regiment, and immediately began his retreat. Tarleton, while on his march the next morning, received information that Sumpter was retreating, and commenced a pursuit with his usual celerity. At a ford upon the Enoree, he came up with, and cut to pieces part of the rear-guard of Sumpter's detachment, which was waiting for the return of a patrol; the main body having passed the river some hours before. The rapid river Tyger crossed the line of march which Sumpter was pursuing at some distance in his front, and if he was suffered to pass it unmolested, it was feared that all farther pursuit would be fruitless. Tarleton, impressed with this idea, moved on with as much expedition as he could, consistently with another object, which a knowledge of Sumpter's force rendered it necessary for him to have steadily in view. This was to keep his detachment compact, that the infantry and cavalry might be at hand to support each other. But, at the hour of four in the

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Action at
Black-
stock's Hill
between
Sumpter
and Tar-
leton.

the afternoon of the twentieth of November, finding, that, unless he altered his disposition, Sumpter would have time to pass the Tyger before he could come up with him, he took the resolution of pressing forward with the cavalry, and eighty mounted men of the sixty-third regiment, making in the whole, two hundred and fifty men, and left the infantry, who were much fatigued with their previous exertions, to come on at their own pace. After an hour's march, he overtook Sumpter, advantageously posted on an eminence called Blackstock's Hill, near the banks of the Tyger, and without waiting to be joined by the light-infantry, made a precipitate attack with the force which he had then with him. Sumpter's numbers, which were more than double the British force at this moment opposed to him, perhaps would not have availed on equal ground; but the advantages of a strong situation gave him a most decided superiority, especially over cavalry. " That part of the hill to which the attack was " directed was nearly perpendicular, with a small " rivulet, brushwood, and a railed fence in front. " The rear of the Americans, and part of their " right flank, were secured by the river Tyger, " and their left was covered by a large long " barn, into which a considerable division of " their force had been thrown, and from which, " as the apertures between the logs served them " for loop-holes, they fired with security. Bri- " tish valour was conspicuous in this action; but " no valour could surmount the obstacles and dis- " advantages that here stood in its way. The " sixty-third regiment was roughly handled: " The commanding officer *, two others †, with

* Major Money.

† Lieutenant Gibson and Cope.

" one third of their privates, fell. Lieutenant-
 " colonel Tarleton, observing their situation,
 " charged with his cavalry; but unable to dis-
 " lodge the enemy, either from the log barn on
 " his right, or the height on his left, he was ob-
 " liged to fall back. Lieutenant Skinner, at-
 " tached to the cavalry, with a presence of mind
 " ever useful in such emergencies, covered the
 " retreat of the sixty-third; and in this manner
 " did the whole party continue to retire, till
 " they formed a junction with their infantry, who
 " were advancing to support them, leaving
 " Sumpter in quiet possession of the field. This
 " officer occupied the hill for several hours, but
 " having received a bad wound, and knowing
 " that the British would be reinforced before
 " next morning, he thought it hazardous to wait.
 " He accordingly retired, and taking his wound-
 " ed men with him, crossed the rapid river Ty-
 " ger. The wounded of the British detachment
 " were left to the mercy of the enemy; and it is
 " but doing bare justice to general Sumpter to
 " declare that the strictest humanity took place
 " upon the present occasion; they were supplied
 " with every comfort in his power *."

* The whole of this account of the action at Blackstock's is
 taken from Mackenzie's *Sketches on Tarleton's Campaigns*.
 The account is there said to have been compiled from the con-
 current testimony of several officers present in the action; and it
 has been preferred to Tarleton's own account, because his claim
 of victory is evidently inconsistent with some other circumstances
 which he admits, particularly this, that he did not gain possession
 of the field of action until the next morning, after it had been
 quitted by the Americans in the night.

Although

CHAP. XXXV. Although Tarleton was repulsed at Blackstock's Hill, the immediate effects of the action were nearly the same as those of a victory. Sumpter being disabled by his wound from keeping the field, his followers dispersed, after conveying him to a place of safety.

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Effects of the Defeat and Fall of Major Ferguson—General Gates resigns the Command of the Southern American Army to General Green—Danger arising to the British Garrison in New York from the extreme Rigour of the Winter—Measures taken for the Defence of New York—Unsuccessful Attempts to establish the royal Standard in the Jerseys.

THE postponing the expedition into North Carolina was not the only injurious consequence that followed from the defeat and fall of major Ferguson. By that unfortunate event the loyal inhabitants in both the Carolinas were discouraged from joining the king's standard; and the expiring embers of the war were lighted up afresh. The disaster which had befallen that brave officer was quickly circulated from one end of the continent to the other; and the friends of independence, cheered by the intelligence, recovered from the state of despondence which followed the successive defeats of Gates at Camden, and Sumpter near the ford of Catawba. The governments of Virginia and North Carolina continued to raise men and make draughts from their militia: And the officers who escaped from Camden were indefatigably active in collecting the dispersed remains of their broken army. By those means something like a force was after a time assembled at

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and fall of
major Fer-
guson.

CHAP. Hillsborough, where general Gates established his
 XXXVI. head-quarters. As this force increased, head-
 1780. quarters were advanced, first to Salisbury, and af-
 terwards to Charlotte; and still more to encour-
 age the reviving spirits of the southern troops,
 general Green, who was supposed to enjoy the
 esteem and confidence of Washington more than
 any other officer of the army, was sent to com-
 mand them. He arrived at Charlotte on the se-
 cond of December, and on the following day ge-
 neral Gates resigned the command of the army.
 With these transactions closed the campaign of the
 year 1780 in the southern colonies; the events of
 which, for the sake of perspicuity, have been
 given in a connected series.

General
 Gates re-
 signs the
 command
 of the
 southern
 American
 army to
 general
 Green.

We must now take a review of the military
 operations between the two grand armies in the
 vicinity of New York, and of the other principal
 events that occurred upon the continent of Ame-
 rica from the beginning of the present year, and
 from thence pass to those that occurred in other
 quarters of the world, to which the war in its
 progress extended itself.

Dangers
 arising to
 the British
 garrison in
 New York,
 from the
 extreme
 rigour of
 the winter.

The winter that preceded this campaign was the
 severest ever remembered in North America.
 The rivers from Virginia northwards were frozen
 up for the greatest part of three months: And
 even the arms of the sea were in many parts pas-
 sable upon the ice. When sir Henry Clinton de-
 parted upon his expedition against Charlestown,
 he left a garrison fully adequate to the security of
 New York in ordinary seasons: But by the unex-
 pected rigour of the winter it was deprived of those
 defensive advantages which its insular situation at
 other times afforded, and became exposed to an
 attack from general Washington. By the middle
 of January the North River, which constituted its
 greatest natural defence, was so completely co-
 vered

vered with thick ice, that the largest army, with the heaviest artillery and baggage, might have passed it on the ice with ease. In other quarters, towards the country, New York was not less accessible; whilst its communication with the sea was entirely cut off, the ships of war that remained for its defence, and all the other vessels in the harbour, being frozen up in the ice.

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In this perilous situation, the veteran lieutenant-general Knyphausen, who commanded, took such precautionary measures as prudence dictated. The seamen were landed from the ships and transports, and formed into companies: The inhabitants were embodied and officered, and took their routine of duty with the regular garrison. In the mean time the danger to be apprehended from an attack was not the only evil to which the garrison and inhabitants were subjected: They were deprived of those supplies which a communication by water would have afforded, and in particular suffered severely for want of fuel. Such was their distress for want of this article, that it became necessary to break up some old transports, and to pull down some uninhabited wooden houses, to supply their most pressing necessities. But the same zeal animated them, and the same ardour ran through the whole service, as when, in a former year, the count d'Estaing anchored off Sandy Hook, and threatened to enter the harbour.

Measures
taken for
the defence
of New
York.

Had general Washington been in sufficient force to have hazarded an attack, it is difficult to say what might ultimately have been the consequence: It was however sufficiently apparent, that he would have met with the most determined resistance. But general Washington was in no condition to make the attempt: His army had been weakened by the large detachments drawn from it

CHAP. for the relief of Charlestown; and amongst the
 XXXVI. troops that remained with him a mutinous spirit
 1780. began to appear, in consequence of their sufferings from the scarcity of provisions and the want of all other necessaries. The destruction of the continental magazines by the desultory expeditions of the preceding year, against different parts of the sea-coast, probably laid the foundation of this scarcity: And the evil was increased by the rapid depreciation of the paper money issued by congress, which rendered it difficult for their contractors to procure supplies. Thus, in consequence of the reciprocal weakness of the two armies, the winter passed without any thing material happening between them, except an ineffectual attempt made by the American general lord Stirling, about the middle of January, to take Staten Island. He marched over the ice from the Jersey shore in the night, surprised a small post, and made a few prisoners; but was soon obliged to retreat, and in his retreat lost some of his own men, who served to exchange for the prisoners that he had taken.

The enemy having established a post at Young's House, in the neighbourhood of the White Plains, which greatly annoyed the provincial loyalists, as well as the British army, by the interception of cattle and provisions intended to be brought to New York, became an object of importance with the governor and commander of his majesty's troops, if possible, to dislodge that party, consisting of about three hundred men. Much as it had been the wish of both to drive the enemy from this post, no means had been used for that end, on account of their distance, twenty miles from the out-posts of our army, till the month of February 1780, when, after a great fall of snow, it

was

was suggested that a detachment of soldiers might be conveyed in sleighs in one night, and surprise the enemy by break of day. Major-general Mathew, who commanded at King's Bridge, on the second of February communicated to lieutenant-colonel Norton of the guards the intention of general Tryon and lieutenant-general Knyphausen, to send a detachment of troops to Young's house in sleighs, which would be ready at King's Bridge in the evening, and that lieutenant-colonel Norton was to command the party. The colonel, though highly gratified by this command, and unwilling to say any thing that might seem to retard the service, or throw difficulties in the way of the intended expedition, yet thought it his duty to point out the improbability of the sleighs answering the purpose: And so convinced was general Mathew, from the reasons which lieutenant-colonel Norton adduced, of the very little chance of succeeding by means of the sleighs, that general Mathew, in the handsomest manner, in the event of the sleighs upon trial not being found to answer, left lieutenant-colonel Norton at liberty to act with the detachment as he pleased; either to convert it to a foraging party, to proceed, or to return, as he should think most advisable. Under these circumstances, lieutenant-colonel Norton, on the evening of the second of February 1780, set out with the four flank companies of the guards, two companies of Hessians, and a party of yagers, in the sleighs; and taking also with him two three-pounders, a detachment of yager cavalry, and the mounted West Chester refugees. The sleighs, being soon found, instead of accelerating, to retard the progress of the troops, were ordered back, and the detachment moved on. Not long after the men had quitted the sleighs, and were marching forward, word was brought to lieutenant-colonel

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colonel Norton, that the horses were not able to draw the guns through the snow; he was therefore obliged to leave the guns, and with them a guard sufficient to ensure their return. The detachment continued its march through bye-ways, and across the country, in order to avoid falling in with the enemy's patrols, still in hopes, by perseverance and exertion, to reach Young's House by break of day. At sun-rise, they learned from the guides that they were yet seven miles short of the enemy's post: A long way for men wearied with marching all night in bad roads, and with the snow in many places above two feet deep. Their situation was now, not a little embarrassing. As the guns, intended to open the doors of the stone house, were left behind, to surprise the enemy was impossible. To proceed, and not to carry the point, would be to expose the detachment, in their return, already fatigued with a long and toilsome march, to be harassed for the space of twenty miles, by an enemy in force, fresh, and with a perfect knowledge of the country. In these circumstances, the colonel, unwilling to return without accomplishing some object that might answer the expectation of those who had placed their confidence in him, determined at all events, to march to the enemy's post, and then act according to circumstances; availing himself of some axes he had found by the way, and an iron crow, the better to enable the grenadiers to force the doors and windows of the house. When the detachment arrived within two miles of the enemy, the cavalry were ordered to advance, and invest the house in such a manner as to prevent either a retreat or reinforcement. This order, from the depth of the snow, could not be carried into execution, and the cavalry drew up on an eminence at some little distance from the house. As the flank

flank companies of the first battalion of guards approached, parties of the enemy were observed marching very deliberately to reinforce lieutenant-colonel Thomson, in Young's House. The disposition for attack was then soon made, by desiring lieutenant-colonel Hall, with his company of light-infantry of the guards, to ascend the hill on his right, below which stood the house, whilst the first company of grenadiers inclined a little to the left, to cut off the retreat of a party that had advanced from Hammond's, a house at a small distance from Young's. Very shortly after the separation of the two leading companies, the firing began between the party in the house and lieutenant colonel Hall's men: Nor was it long before the grenadiers came up with the party of the enemy just mentioned, who were in readiness waiting for them in the orchard adjoining to Hammond's house, and received them with a degree of coolness and courage that did the Americans honour. To superior force they were obliged to give way; and by the timely arrival of lieutenant-colonel Pennington, with a part of the second company of grenadier guards, who had advanced in a straight line, the house was carried, and the enemy defeated. So sharp was the conflict, and so speedily terminated, that the whole of lieutenant-colonel Pennington's company had not time to come up, which made it impossible for the second company of light infantry, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Guldickens, or the other troops, which were in the rear of the line of march, to share in the action.*

* No accurate account was taken of the killed of the enemy, but from the numbers that lay dead around the house, there was reason to believe not less than forty. Ninety were made prisoners, among which were the lieutenant-colonel commandant of the district, 1 captain, 1 captain-lieutenant, 2 lieutenants, and 2 ensigns.

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The prisoners, being put under a proper escort, and the troops formed again in line of march, the detachment took the direct road to King's Bridge, which they reached by nine on the same evening†.

For

† Twelve of the prisoners were so severely wounded, that they were obliged to be left at different houses on the road. Eighty-seven were conducted to New York.

The loss sustained by the detachment under colonel Norton : —Yagers, 3 men wounded. Refugees, 1 captain wounded. First light-infantry company of the guards, 1 rank and file wounded. First grenadier company ditto, 2 rank and file killed. Wounded, 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 12 rank and file. Second grenadier company of the guards, 1 serjeant, 3 rank and file wounded. Total; killed, 2, wounded, 23.

Lieutenant-colonel Norton made his report on the 4th of February to major-general Mathew of the killed and wounded of the detachment, together with the number of prisoners taken. In the afternoon of the 4th, the major of the brigade, in a polite letter to lieutenant-colonel Norton, inclosed him a copy of the after-orders of the 4th instant, viz.

Public Orders, King's Bridge, 4th of February 1780.

“Major-general Mathew returns his thanks to lieutenant-colonel Norton, and the officers and privates of the detachment under his command, for their conduct and spirited behaviour on the morning of the 3d instant, and for their intrepidity and perseverance in that duty : The success of which claims the general's highest approbation.”

On the 5th of February 1780, the following Order was given out from Head Quarters at New York.

“His excellency lieutenant general Knyphausen desires his thanks may be given in public orders to lieutenant-colonel Norton of the guards, for his good conduct and gallant behaviour in attacking and forcing a considerable body of the rebels, advantageously posted at Young's House, in the neighbourhood of White Plains, on the morning of the 3d instant. His excellency returns his thanks to the officers and private soldiers of the different detachments employed on this service ; and the general is particularly obliged to the officers and men of the West Chester refugees for their very determined behaviour upon this as well as former occasions.”

Subsequent

For some days in the winter, general Washington's army was entirely without bread. Occasional supplies

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Subsequent to the order of thanks, highly flattering to colonel Norton and the party, the generals having learnt more particularly the difficulties the detachment had encountered, and thinking that the extraordinary exertions of the troops merited yet further attention at their hands, lieutenant-colonel Norton was desired to make major-general Mathew a formal report of the excursion to Young's House, and to mention as many circumstances as he should deem worthy of notice, giving him to understand the report would be transmitted to England. Lieutenant colonel Norton accordingly made his report to major-general Mathew, which was sent to sir Henry Clinton, the commander in chief, then at Charlestown; and from sir Henry forwarded to England by the earl of Lincoln, aid-du-camp to the commander in chief, by whom it was delivered in to the secretary of state's office. The only account given to the public of this expedition in the Gazette, was on the 26th of April 1780, in the extract of a letter from lieutenant-general Knyphausen to lord George Germaine, as follows:—

“General Mathew sent a detachment of guards, and provincial horse, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Norton, to attack a post at John's House, upon the White Plains. This did not succeed entirely to his wishes; but the rebels, who were posted in a house, were however attacked and dislodged, with the loss of 40 men killed and 97 made prisoners.”

An act of generosity was upon this occasion displayed, which ought not to be passed over in silence: The wounded Americans were placed in houses, and a sum of money given by the British officers to the occupiers or inhabitants of those houses, as an encouragement or reward for the trouble they might be at in attending on the wounded Americans.

When the Gazette, giving an account of this expedition, arrived at New York, general Mathew immediately took it to general Knyphausen, and shewed it him. General Knyphausen exclaimed, “This is not my account! for my account of this expedition was perfectly agreeable to the order of thanks I gave, and my letter to the minister spoke in the handsomest manner of colonel Norton's conduct, and the officers and men under his command.” But this mutilated, most untrue, and unjust account, was not without its object, it being intended to wound the feelings of the father through the son, the father, then sir Fletcher Norton, afterwards lord Grantley, having dared to hint that a frugal expenditure of the public money was expected by

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supplies were afterwards received, but so scanty, that the sufferings of the troops necessarily produced discontent; and towards the end of May two regiments actually mutinied. Means however were found to pacify them; and after some time they returned to their duty.

By the thawing of the ice upon the approach of spring, New York was restored to its insular situation; and all further apprehensions for its safety being at an end, the British commanders there were at liberty to employ their force offensively against the enemy, and to take advantage of any favourable circumstances that might occur for annoying them. Intelligence of the the mutinous disposition of the American army being carried to New

by the commons. When, as speaker of the house of commons, he addressed his majesty upon presenting a bill, granting supplies to his majesty, on the 7th of May 1777 (vide vol. i. Chap. XIII) sir Fletcher Norton's speech gave great offence to the ministers; and although generals Knyphausen's and Marthew's most favourable account of the expedition to Young's House, together with the very handsome and well deserved order of thanks to colonel, now the honourable major-general, Norton of the guards, and the detachment under his command, were delivered (by the earl of Lincoln, then aid-du-camp to sir Henry Clinton) to lord George Germaine in person, as the minister for American affairs; yet we see, from the Gazette account, how false a relation was given to the public.

There is a certain degree of fame, and honourable ambition, to which every good man looks up: But were that fame to be blasted for either private or party purposes, all emulation, the great incentive to glorious actions, would be suppressed and destroyed.

It is well observed by the great Roman historian TACITUS (of whose admirable writings Mr. Murphy has, at a very seasonable time, presented to the English reader an excellent translation), "That it is incumbent on the writer of history to rejudge the actions of men, to the end, that the good and worthy may meet with the reward due to eminent virtue; and that pernicious citizens may be deterred by the condemnation that waits on evil deeds at the tribunal of posterity. In this consists the chief part of the historian's duty."

New York, and information being also received that the inhabitants of the Jerseys were discontented with the new state of things, and wished to re-establish their old form of government, general Knyphausen was induced to detach a considerable force under brigadiers-general Mathew and Sterling, which landed at Elizabeth-town, in the Jerseys, on the seventh of June. If the inhabitants were disposed to throw off the yoke of congress, the force sent to their assistance would enable them to do it: And if a mutinous disposition still prevailed amongst the soldiers of the American army, some advantage might probably be gained over general Washington. It soon however appeared that part of this intelligence was false, and the rest greatly magnified. Although the inhabitants of the Jerseys had murmured in consequence of the depredations committed upon them by the American soldiers in the time of their distress for want of provisions, they had never thought of deserting the American cause: On the contrary, they made the greatest exertions to relieve the necessities of those very men to whose depredations they were exposed; and it was principally owing to these exertions that the American army had not been actually disbanded. A mutinous disposition had also certainly discovered itself amongst the soldiers of the American army: But it arose from distress, and not disaffection; and the two regiments which had already mutinied, were soon pacified. Under such circumstances the British commanders experienced a grievous disappointment: Instead of being received in the Jerseys as friends, the militia very generally turned out to oppose them. During their march from Elizabeth-town to Connecticut Farms, a distance of only seven miles, they were annoyed by parties of militia the whole way; who,

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CHAP. if they were unable to make any impression, or
XXXVI. do any considerable injury, shewed at least that it
1780. was not from want of inclination: And when
the British troops approached Springfield, a detachment from that army, which was represented to be mutinous, was seen drawn up in force on the other side of the river ready to dispute their passage. It being now apparent that the information, upon which this expedition had been undertaken, was not to be depended upon, the British troops in the evening returned to Elizabeth-town, and would have crossed the same night to Staten Island, had not the ebbing of the tide, which on that shore leaves a large space covered with deep mud between the high land and the water, rendered it impossible to embark the cavalry till the next morning; and to cover their embarkation it was necessary that the infantry should remain with them. In the mean time, the British commanders had leisure to reflect upon their disappointment, and the consequences of their fruitless expedition; and it was determined, for the credit of the British arms, to remain some days longer in New Jersey, lest their precipitate retreat should be represented as a flight.

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The Americans dislodged from Springfield, and that Town destroyed---A French Armament arrives at Rhode Island---A Scheme formed by one of General Washington's Officers, Arnold, for delivering an important Post into the Hands of the British Army --Adventure and Fate of the British Adjutant-General Major André---A general Exchange of Prisoners---The Troops on both Sides retire into Winter Quarters.

WHILST, in consequence of this determination, the British army lay at Elizabeth-town, sir Henry Clinton arrived from South Carolina; and the post at Springfield having been reinforced and put under the command of general Green, a resolution was taken to attack and dislodge him before the army returned to New York. In pursuance of this resolution the army marched at break of day in the morning of the twenty-third of June, and arrived at Springfield with very little interruption. The enemy appeared determined to dispute the further progress of the British troops at two different passes upon the river, but were dislodged from both after a considerable resistance, nearly about the same time, and forced to flee to the heights in their rear, where they again took post. The town of Springfield was burnt: And the British army, having rested a few hours after the action, returned the same day to Elizabeth-town, and in

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The Americans dislodged from Springfield, and that town destroyed.

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the evening, under cover of a redoubt that had been thrown up by the Americans, but now occupied by the British, passed over to Staten Island without molestation, by means of a bridge of boats.

Before the British troops marched out from Elizabeth-town, some pains had been taken to mislead general Washington, as to the real design of the British commander. The transports were assembled, and troops embarked, as if an expedition had been intended up the North River against West Point; and by such indications general Washington was so far alarmed, that he actually marched from his camp in the Jerseys towards the North River. But he marched with great deliberation, cautiously intending not to remove too far from Morris-town, until the future movements of sir Henry Clinton should enable him to discover his real intention; and he had proceeded only fifteen miles, when information was brought to him, that the British troops, instead of going up the North River, were marching out in force towards Springfield. General Washington immediately halted, and sent back a detachment to reinforce general Green; but before it arrived the action at Springfield was over, and the British troops had retreated to Elizabeth-town. The real object of the expedition was probably against the American magazines at Morris-town: But the opposition made at Springfield was an indication to the commander in chief, that every mile of his future march through a country naturally difficult, and abounding with strong passes, would be not less obstinately disputed, and determined him to abandon an enterprize, which, even if it should be successful, might cost him too much; more especially as the expected arrival
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of a powerful French armament on the coast of America, obliged him not to engage in any expedition that would either require much time, or carry him a considerable distance from New York.

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The British army having quitted New Jersey, general Washington on his part planned an enterprise against a British post at Bergen Point, on the North River, opposite to New York, which was garrisoned by seventy loyalists. This enterprise had for its object not only the reduction of that post, but the carrying away of the cattle upon Bergen Neck, from which the garrison of New York was occasionally supplied with fresh provisions, through the post occupied by the loyalists: And the force appointed for carrying it into execution, amounted to about two thousand men, under the command of general Wayne, who had rendered himself famous by the surprise of Stoney Point. At Bergen Point, the defences of which consisted of a block-house surrounded by an abbatiss, this brave little band of loyal refugees defended themselves against a cannonade of three hours, and repulsed an attempt to take the place by assault: In the assault the Americans lost a number equal to the whole amount of the garrison, and in their retreat some stragglers were made prisoners, and part of the cattle retaken, which they were attempting to carry off.

In the mean time, on the tenth of July, the expected armament from France arrived at Rhode Island. It consisted of seven ships of the line, some frigates, and a number of transports, having on board six thousand troops; the fleet being commanded by the chevalier de Ternay, and the troops by the count de Rochambeau: And in order to prevent discussion, and obviate every difficulty that might arise upon the junction of the

French

A French
armament
arrives at
Rhode Is-
land.

CHAP. French troops with the American army, a com-
 XXXVII. mission was sent to general Washington, appoint-
 1780. ing him a lieutenant-general of France, which of
 course put the count de Rochambeau under his
 orders.

The arrival of so considerable a reinforcement diffused a general joy amongst the adherents of congress throughout the American states, and excited them to fresh exertions. Those states, which had lately turned a deaf ear to the applications not only of general Washington, but of congress, were now eager to raise and send forward their quotas of men: And the American army, which, from the various causes already mentioned, had been reduced to a state of imbecility, began again to make a respectable appearance. When the French arrived at Rhode Island, the British fleet under admiral Arbuthnot was inferior to that of the chevalier de Ternay; and a plan was laid for attacking New York: But the arrival of six ships of the line from England, which followed close on the track of the chevalier de Ternay, soon gave admiral Arbuthnot the superiority; and the British commanders, instead of waiting to be attacked, made preparations in their turn for acting offensively against the French at Rhode Island. Sir Henry Clinton, with the transports and troops destined for this expedition, proceeded to Huntington Bay, in the Sound, whilst admiral Arbuthnot, with the ships of war, sailed round Long Island, in order to co-operate by sea. But in the mean time general Washington, whose army had been increased by the arrival of considerable reinforcements, suddenly passed the North River, and approached King's Bridge. So unexpected a movement obliged sir Henry Clinton to abandon the expedition against Rhode Island, and return with the troops for the protection of
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New York, leaving admiral Arbuthnot to block up the French fleet by sea. The object of this expedition was lost, from a circumstance but too frequent in the history of this country, a disagreement between the commanders in chief of the land and naval service. Upon the return of the British commander, general Washington drew off his forces to a greater distance, cautiously avoiding such a position as might be the means of bringing on a general engagement.

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About this time the count de Guichen was expected from the West Indies, with a land force, and twenty ships of the line. In view of this assistance the New England militia had assembled very readily, and marched to Rhode Island, when their allies the French were threatened with an attack from sir Henry Clinton: General Washington's army too, as has been already mentioned, had been greatly increased by the arrival of fresh reinforcements. And with these different bodies of men, when united, it was intended to attack New York by land, whilst the count de Guichen, joined by the squadron under the chevalier de Ternay, should block it up by sea. But the count de Guichen, as we shall see hereafter, when we come to the transactions in the West Indies, had been so roughly handled in his different engagements with admiral Rodney, and his ships were in so shattered a condition, that instead of proceeding to America, according to the original design, he returned with his fleet to France, taking under his convoy the trade from the French islands. The failure in so considerable a part rendered impracticable the further prosecution of the scheme against New York; and as soon as general Washington was made acquainted with the departure of the count de Guichen, it became necessary for him to concert new measures with the

CHAP. French commanders at Rhode Island, for their
 XXXVII. future operations. For this purpose an interview
 1780. took place between them at Hartford in Connecticut, about half way between the French and American camps.

A scheme formed by one of general Washington's officers, Arnold, for delivering an important post into the hands of the British army.

Whilst general Washington was absent from his army upon this service, a deep-laid scheme was formed by one of his own officers, for delivering up to sir Henry Clinton the strong post of West Point, in the high lands upon the North River, the possession of which would have nearly cut off all communication between the northern and middle colonies. The officer engaged in this design was the famous general Arnold, whose services in the cause of America had been of the most meritorious kind, and whose brilliant actions in the field justly raised him to superior notice and regard. After the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British troops in the year 1778, he was appointed to command the American garrison that took possession of it; and while he acted in that capacity had the misfortune to disgust many of the inhabitants, and even to fall under the displeasure of congress. He lived expensively, and, as was supposed, considerably beyond his stated income; but he was at the same time concerned in trading speculations, and had shares in several privateers; and upon the profits expected from those adventures, he probably relied, as means of enabling him to keep up the state and style of life he had assumed: He had also claims against the public to a considerable amount; and upon the payment of them he depended as a fund to satisfy the immediate demands of his creditors, who were beginning to become importunate. But the trading speculations in which he had engaged proved unproductive; his privateers were unsuccessful; and a considerable portion of his demand
 against

against the public was cut off, by the commissioners appointed to examine his accounts. From the decision of the commissioners, general Arnold appealed to the congress, who appointed a committee of their own members to revise the sentence: But the committee of congress were even less favourable to his views than the commissioners, from whose decision he had appealed. They reported that the balance already allowed by the commissioners was more than general Arnold was entitled to receive.

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So many disappointments could not fail to ruffle a temper less irritable than general Arnold's: Recollecting his former services, he gave full scope to his resentment, and complained of ill-usage and ingratitude in terms better calculated to provoke than to mollify, and such as were peculiarly offensive to congress. His enemies availed themselves of his indiscretion to swell the tide of popular clamour which already ran strongly against him. A court-martial was appointed to examine into his conduct during his command in Philadelphia, and by the sentence of that board it was in general terms reprehended, and himself subjected to the mortification of receiving a reprimand from general Washington.

From this moment it is supposed that Arnold formed the design of quitting the American service and joining the British; and only delayed the execution of his purpose until an opportunity should offer of performing some essential service to the power which he was about to join, that might render his accession of more importance. A correspondence was opened with sir Henry Clinton: The delivering up the post at West Point, where Arnold now commanded, was the service he proposed to perform; and the interval of general Washington's absence, when he went to confer

CHAP. with the French commanders, was the time appointed for finishing the negotiation. To facilitate the means of carrying on the previous correspondence, the Vulture sloop of war was stationed in the North River, at such a distance from West Point as to excite no suspicion, but near enough to serve for the intended communication; and as general Arnold required a confidential person to treat with, major André, aid du-camp to sir Henry Clinton, and adjutant-general of the British army, undertook to confer with him, and bring the negotiation to a conclusion. For this purpose he repaired on board the Vulture sloop. At night, in pursuance of a previous arrangement, a boat from the shore carried him to the beach, where he met general Arnold; and daylight approaching before the business on which they had met was finally adjusted, major André was told that he must be conducted to a place of safety, and lie concealed until the following night, when he might return on board the Vulture without the danger of being discovered. The beach where the first conference was held was without, but the place of safety to which major André was conducted to lie concealed during the day, was within the American out-posts, against his intention, and without his knowledge. Here, however, he remained with general Arnold during the day; and at night, the boatmen refusing to carry him on board the Vulture, because she had shifted her position during the day, in consequence of a gun being brought to bear upon her from the shore, he was reduced to the necessity of endeavouring to make his way to New York by land. Laying aside his regimentals, which he had hitherto worn, he put on a plain suit of clothes, and receiving a pass from general Arnold, under the assumed name of John Anderson, as if he had been

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the British
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general
major
André.

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been sent down the country on public business, he set out on his return to New York. His passport secured him from interruption at the American out-posts; and he had already passed them all, and thought himself out of danger, when three American militia men, who had been sent out to patrol near the road along which he travelled, suddenly springing from the woods, seized the bridle of his horse and stopped him. The suddenness of the surprise seems to have deprived major André of his wonted presence of mind; and, although a man of the greatest address, he was entrapped by the rude simplicity of clowns. Having inquired from whence they were, and being answered, "From below;" "And so," said he, "am I." It was not long before he discovered his mistake; but too late, it would appear, to remove the impression which his first answer had made. The men who had made him prisoner searched him for papers, and having taken from his boot a packet, in the hand-writing of general Arnold, determined to carry him without delay to their commanding officer. It was in vain that he offered them a purse of gold and his watch, to suffer him to pass: His promises of an ample provision, and getting them promotion, if they would accompany him to New York, were equally unavailing. The unfortunate André, after these efforts to regain his liberty, seems to have been regardless of what might be his own fate, and was only anxious to save general Arnold. Before the commanding officer of the militia he continued to personate the supposed John Anderson, and requested that a messenger might be sent to general Arnold to acquaint him with his detention. A messenger being accordingly dispatched, and sufficient time having elapsed for general Arnold to make his escape, he no longer disguised his real name,

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name, and avowed himself to be major André, adjutant-general of the British army: He also wrote a letter to general Washington, in his real name, acquainting him that he was his prisoner, and accounting for the disguise which necessity had obliged him to assume. The message sent to general Arnold, announcing the detention of John Anderson, was sufficient notice to him to provide for his own safety: He quitted West Point without delay, got on board the Vulture sloop, and in her proceeded to New York.

In the mean time general Washington returned from his interview with the French commanders, and being informed of what had passed during his absence, together with Arnold's escape, he reinforced the garrison of West Point with a strong detachment from his army, and appointed a board of general officers, to inquire into and report upon the case of major André. The candid, open, manly, and ingenuous explanation of his conduct, given by major André, before the board of officers, impressed with admiration and esteem even his enemies who were about to shed his blood. Dismissing from his thoughts all personal considerations of danger, he was only anxious that the transaction in which he had been engaged, shaded as it was by the intervention of unfortunate circumstances, might be cleared from obscurity, and appear in its genuine colours, at least with respect to his intention, which was incapable of swerving from the paths of honour. But the board of officers fixing their attention upon the naked fact of his being in disguise within their lines, without perhaps duly considering the unfortunate train of incidents which unexpectedly, and almost unavoidably, led him into that situation, were of opinion that he came under
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the description, and ought to suffer the punishment, of a spy.

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The concern felt at New York, in consequence of the capture of major André, was in the mean time inconceivably great: His gallantry as an officer, and amiable demeanour as a man, had gained him not only the admiration, but the affection, of the whole army; and the uncertainty of his fate filled them with the deepest anxiety. Sir Henry Clinton, whose esteem and regard he enjoyed in an eminent degree, immediately opened a correspondence with general Washington, by means of a flag of truce, and urged every motive which justice, policy, or humanity, could suggest, to induce a remission of the sentence. Finding his letters ineffectual, he sent out general Robertson, with a flag, to confer upon the subject with any officer that should be appointed by general Washington. An interview took place between general Robertson and general Green, who had been president of the court martial. But all efforts to save the unfortunate André were unavailing: His doom was irrevocably fixed. The greatness of the danger which the American army had escaped by the discovery of Arnold's plot before it was ripe for execution, seems to have extinguished in the breast of the inexorable Washington, every spark of humanity that remained. Although entreated by a most pathetic letter from major André, written on the day previous to his execution, to change the mode of his death from that of a common malefactor to one more correspondent to the feelings of a soldier, he would not condescend to grant even this inconsiderable boon to the supplication of his unfortunate prisoner: And on the second day of October this accomplished young officer met his

CHAP. his fate, in the manner prescribed by his sentence,
 XXXVII. with a composure, serenity, and fortitude, which
 1780. astonished the beholders, and excited those emotions of sympathy that would have been more honourably and humanely exercised in averting than lamenting his fate.

Thus fell the unfortunate André. If intention is necessary to constitute guilt; and if guilt alone merits punishment, some doubt may be entertained with respect to the sentence of the board of officers. Major André did not, at first, knowingly enter within the American lines: He was then also in his regimentals: And when he actually found himself within those lines, contrarily to his intention, whatever he afterwards did, in order to extricate himself, by assuming a disguise, and using a feigned passport, ought rather to be ascribed to the imposed necessity of his situation than to choice. But, even if the sentence pronounced against him should be found agreeable to the letter of the law of nations, so unsuitable is the exercise of extreme justice to our imperfect state, that we turn with disgust from those transactions, in which the finer feelings of humanity have been sacrificed to its rigour. Bright as the fame of Washington shall shine in the annals of America, as one of the most illustrious supporters of her independence, the sons of freedom will lament the cold insensibility, that did not suffer him to interpose, in order to rescue from his fate so gallant an officer, and even could withhold from him the poor consolation of meeting death like a soldier; whilst a glance of indignation shall dart from the eyes of her fair and compassionate daughters, softened only by the tear of pity for the fate of the accomplished André.

From so tragic an event, tending by its severity to increase, we pass with pleasure to an arrangement

ment calculated to lessen, the calamities of war. CHAP. XXXVII.
 This was an agreement for a general exchange of prisoners, finally settled and adjusted towards the close of the present year, between major-general Philips, on the part of the British army, and major-general Lincoln, on the part of the Americans, the former having been an American prisoner ever since the convention of Saratoga, and the latter a British prisoner since the fall of Charlestown. 1780.

The congress had, from policy, hitherto resisted all proposals for a general exchange upon equitable terms. They knew the expence that attended recruiting the British army from Europe: They knew also that their own army would receive no great increase of strength by a release of the Americans detained as prisoners, because the short periods for which the American soldiers enlisted, during the first years of the war, would have generally expired before an exchange could have been effected. But the clamours of their people, so long detained in captivity, and for whose release they had shewn so much indifference, had now become so loud; so many of their regular soldiers had been made prisoners by the capture of Charlestown, and the defeat of general Gates at Camden; and in consequence of these disasters so much difficulty had been experienced in recruiting their army during the present year; that necessity, rather than choice, obliged them at last to yield to an equitable arrangement. An ineffectual attempt was made for the release of the privates of general Burgoyne's army, who had been prisoners since the convention of Saratoga: But nothing could prevail upon the congress to depart from their former resolutions; and the convention troops were destined to captivity during the remainder of the war.

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CHAP. The cold weather beginning to set in, put an
XXXVII. end to all further active operations in the field.
1780. The British troops went into winter quarters in
New York and its dependencies: The French
troops remained at Rhode Island: And general
Washington continued to occupy the high grounds
bordering on the North River, from whence in a
short time he was obliged to discharge a considerable
part of the new levies, in consequence of a
want of bread for their subsistence.

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Transactions in Europe and the West Indies—Successes of the British Fleet under Admiral Rodney—Relief of Gibraltar—Growing differences between Great Britain and Holland—Armed Neutrality, or Association among neutral Maritime Powers, for the Purpose of establishing the Doctrine that Free Ships make Free Goods—Suspension of the Treaties between Great Britain and Holland—Naval Transactions—Commercial Treaty between America and Holland—War on the part of Great Britain against the Dutch.

BUT the transactions in Europe and the West Indies now demand our attention. Admiral Rodney, whom his services in the preceding war had recommended to the notice of the ministry, being appointed to command the British fleet in the West Indies, sailed for that station, with a reinforcement of ships, about the beginning of the present year; and advantage was taken of his convoy to send a fresh supply of provisions and stores for the relief of the garrison at Gibraltar, which had been blockaded by the Spaniards from the commencement of the war with that nation. That this service might be performed without any danger of miscarriage, a part of the channel fleet was put under admiral Rodney's command, which was to accompany him as far as Gibraltar.

It seems to have been reserved for this commander to revive, by his successes, the memory of
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our glorious achievements in former wars. He had been but a few days at sea, when he fell in with and took a fleet of twenty-three sail of Spanish ships bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, sixteen of them laden with provisions, naval stores and bale goods, and the rest ships of war belonging to the royal company of Caraccas that had been assigned to the others as a convoy. The same good fortune, about a week afterwards, brought him in sight of a Spanish fleet of eleven ships of the line and two frigates, that were cruising off Cape St. Vincent under the command of Don Juan Langara. A lee-shore at no great distance favoured the escape of the enemy, and rendered a pursuit from the British fleet hazardous; and the shortness of a winter's day, already far advanced, with tempestuous weather, increased the danger. But the gallant Rodney, like the intrepid Hawke, chose to risk something, where the performance of a great national service was the expected consequence; and threw out a signal for a general chase, taking the lee-gage to cut off the enemy from the shore. Night came on; but the pursuit was still continued. The ships of the British fleet closed with those of the enemy as fast as they could get up; and the action was not ended till two in the morning, when the Monarca, the headmost of the enemy's fleet, struck to the Sandwich, admiral Rodney's ship. The San Domingo, one of the enemy's ships, blew up early in the engagement; and every soul on board perished. Four of their fleet, including the Phoenix of eighty guns; Don Juan Langara's ship, were taken and carried into Gibraltar. Two others had struck; but after the officers had been shifted, were driven on shore by the tempestuous weather, and one of them was entirely lost. The two frigates and four ships of the line, alone escaped,

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two of the latter much damaged in the action. The enemy, although inferior in number, maintained a running fight with great bravery; and the victory was not obtained but at the expence of thirty-two killed, and one hundred and two wounded, on board the British fleet. The weather continued so tempestuous, that it was with difficulty some of the British ships, on the day after the action, were able to extricate themselves from the dangerous shoals of St. Lucar.

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The convoy being conducted safely to Gibraltar, and the provisions and stores having been landed, admiral Digby, taking under his charge the Spanish prizes and homeward-bound transports, sailed for England on the fifteenth of February, with the greatest part of the fleet; and admiral Rodney, with the rest, proceeded to his station in the West Indies. The homeward-bound fleet under admiral Digby got sight of a French convoy, escorted by several ships of war, but at such a distance that the greatest part of it escaped by an early flight. The *Prothée*, a French ship of sixty-four guns, one of the escort, was however taken, and some few of the merchant-ships.

Relief of
Gibraltar.

In the mean time the differences subsisting between Great Britain and Holland were every day increasing, and verging fast towards a state of hostility. The Dutch merchants, particularly those of Amsterdam, had, from the beginning of the disturbances in America, maintained a correspondence with the people of that country, and in the progress of the war supplied them, not only with merchandise, but with warlike stores, without which the very unequal contest could not have been so long supported by the Americans. The carrying on a clandestine intercourse of such a nature, with those whom Great Britain claimed as her subjects, was not to be endured, even in a nation

Growing
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between
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nation strictly neutral, and far less in one bound to her by the most solemn engagements of ancient friendship and alliance. Various remonstrances on this subject were accordingly presented by the British ambassador at the Hague, but no satisfaction was obtained. After the interference of France in the war, the unfriendly proceedings of the Dutch became still more notorious: As they had heretofore supplied the Americans with whatever they wanted, and indeed still continued to do the same, so now they became the carriers of naval stores for the French. The remonstrances presented on this occasion having been found ineffectual, the commander of the British navy received orders to prevent a trade which the Dutch, from good faith, ought to have prohibited. In pursuance of these orders, such of the Dutch merchant-ships as were found laden with naval stores for the use of the French, were brought into British ports, from whence they were suffered to depart as soon as the prohibited articles had been landed; and in the mean time full satisfaction was made to the ship-owners for their freight. This proceeding, however equitable, produced much discontent among the Dutch merchants: They complained that by the seizure and detention of their vessels, the express letter of the treaties subsisting between Great Britain and the republic of the States General was grossly violated; whilst the real fact was, that they themselves, by furnishing the enemies of Great Britain with things necessary for carrying on the war, which this proceeding was calculated to prevent, were acting directly contrary to the spirit of all those treaties.

By the vigilance of the British cruisers this trade was in some degree checked; and the supplies, thus obtained by the French, became not a little precarious. But towards the beginning of
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the present year, a number of Dutch ships, laden with naval stores, being ready to sail for the ports of France, the owners availed themselves of the opportunity of the departure of a Dutch squadron that was proceeding to the Mediterranean, under the command of count Byland, to put their ships under his protection in their passage through the channel. Timely information of their design being conveyed to the British court, commodore Fielding was dispatched, with a sufficient force, to cruise in the channel, examine the Dutch convoy, and seize such of the ships as were found carrying on the trade which Great Britain was determined to prohibit. The two fleets met in the channel on the third of January. Permission to examine the convoy being refused, and the boats of the British fleet sent for that purpose being fired upon, commodore Fielding fired a shot across the way of the Dutch admiral, which was answered with a broadside from the latter. The British commodore did not fail to return the salute, when the Dutch admiral struck his colours. In the mean time the greatest part of the convoy had borne away for the coast of France, and escaped: Those that remained were safely conducted to Spithead, whither count Byland chose to accompany them, to wait for orders from the States General, although he was told by commodore Fielding, that he was at liberty to proceed upon his voyage. This proceeding, bordering upon hostility, increased the clamours of the discontented in Holland, and added strength to the party attached to France, which was already too powerful.

Whilst Great Britain was thus availing herself of her maritime power to prevent the Dutch from supplying her enemies with the means of carrying on the war, another of her allies, upon whom she had also strong claims of friendship, was actively engaged

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goods.

engaged in promoting a scheme for altering the received law of nations, and rendering such a trade legitimate as the Dutch had been attempting to carrying on with France. It was obviously the intent of the greater maritime powers, when engaged in war, that the ships of neutral nations should be liable to a search, and should not protect enemies property; and such was hitherto held to be the law of nations, except in those instances where it had been altered by treaties and conventions between particular powers: It was not less evidently the interest of the weaker commercial powers, when engaged in war, that the ships of neutral nations should pass free and unmolested; because, whenever the state of the war rendered them unable to carry on trade in their own ships, they might employ those of neutral powers. The alteration proposed by this scheme was, that a free ship should make free goods, or, in other words, that a neutral ship, although loaded with a cargo belonging to one of the powers at war, should pass as free and unmolested as in time of peace: A scheme evidently intended to wound Great Britain in her most essential interest; and to her surprise, Russia was the power that brought it forward. In the war of the latter with the Turks some few years before, the conduct of Great Britain had been such as to entitle her to expect from Russia, support and assistance under her present embarrassments, rather than a regulation calculated to encrease them. But with nations, if not with individuals, views of interest are the grand motives to action; and their policy consists in improving those opportunities that occur for promoting it: Friendship, gratitude, and the other virtuous affections that adorn private life, seem to have little influence upon their conduct. In a war between Great Britain and the kingdoms of France and

and Spain, the local situation of the former enables her in a great measure to cut off those supplies of naval stores which the north of Europe alone can furnish. Hence, in time of war between those powers, this kind of trade experiences considerable interruptions. Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, all partook of the loss arising from such interruptions. And the present embarrassed state of Great Britain was laid hold of as a fit opportunity for compelling her to submit to such a regulation as might remove the inconvenience complained of by these northern powers. This scheme is said to have originated with the king of Sweden; but it was first promulgated by a declaration of the empress of Russia addressed to the belligerent powers, which was followed by declarations of the like import from the courts of Sweden and Denmark: The basis of the whole being, that neutral powers unconcerned in the war should be permitted to carry on their commerce in the same unlimited manner as in time of peace, those articles called contraband alone excepted. The other neutral powers in Europe were invited to accede to the principles contained in these declarations; and as it was proposed to compel the practical execution of them by a maritime force, to be equipped by each of the contracting parties, hence the confederation gained the name of the armed neutrality.

The declaration of the empress of Russia being conformable to the present interest of the courts of France and Spain, was received by them with the utmost satisfaction; and suitable answers were returned. Great Britain alone was to sustain an injury from it, and at another time, and under different circumstances, perhaps it might have been resented as an insult. But at present it was thought fit to return an answer which might neither give

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offence, nor derogate from the dignity of the British nation by a tame submission to the claims of the northern powers. The answer was decent and respectful: But, far from admitting the principles laid down by the empress of Russia, the general law of nations, as it had been hitherto understood, was held out as the only rule of decision in maritime cases, except so far as it had been altered by treaties between particular powers; and that between those powers the treaties of course furnished the rule. The empress was assured, that from the commencement of the war the strictest orders had been issued to the British naval commanders for respecting her flag, and observing all the stipulations contained in the commercial treaty subsisting between the two nations; and that the same orders would be continued, and strictly executed. But should any infringement happen, the courts of admiralty, to whom the decision in such cases belonged, would afford redress in so equitable a manner as should be perfectly satisfactory to her imperial majesty.

By these proceedings of the northern powers it became sufficiently apparent that from them Great Britain was neither to expect assistance nor support: And about this time it seems to have been determined in the British cabinet to put to the test the sincerity of the Dutch, and try how far they were to be relied on for the performance of those engagements to which they were bound by treaty. The ground of the alliance between Great Britain and Holland was mutual safety and protection; and in case either nation was attacked, the other was to furnish certain succours. These had been already formally demanded, on the part of Great Britain, after Spain took a part in the war: But the States General had hitherto neglected either to furnish the succours, or give a satisfactory

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factory answer to the demand. The British ambassador at the Hague was now instructed to present a remonstrance on the subject, to claim the succours stipulated by treaty, and to declare, that if a satisfactory answer was not given to this requisition, within three weeks after the delivery of the remonstrance, such a neglect on the part of the States General would be considered as a declaration that they withdrew from the alliance between the two nations. The remonstrance was accordingly presented on the twenty-first of March, and no satisfactory answer being given within the time limited, the threat held out was put in execution. By an order of the king in council, bearing date the seventeenth of April, all the treaties subsisting between the two nations were to be suspended, and the subjects of the States General were in future to be entitled to no other privileges than those enjoyed by neutral nations, unconnected with Great Britain by treaty.

By this decisive measure the unfriendly disposition of the Dutch towards the British nation was laid open, or, at least, their total indifference about its fate: And it seems to have been wise policy in the British ministry to put that disposition to the test; since it is safer to have an open enemy than an insidious friend. These several transactions, which happened soon after the beginning of the present year, disclosed the temper of most of the powers of Europe, upon whom Great Britain had any claim for assistance; and from them it became manifest, that she must henceforward support the contest against the united power of the house of Bourbon, not only without the aid of a single ally, but under the conviction that the other nations of Europe viewed her danger with unconcern, and rather rejoiced in the prospect of her ruin, than wished to prevent it: A conviction mortifying no

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ons.

doubt in the extreme, but at the same time not entirely without its use, as it had a tendency to stimulate to the bravest exertions those who felt the genuine flame of patriotism, and whose love for their country was superior to all the considerations of party.

Upon the death of sir Charles Hardy, in the month of May, the command of the channel fleet was given to admiral Geary, who sailed in quest of the enemy, about the usual time, with thirty ships of the line. During his cruise, in the beginning of July, he came in sight of a fleet of about thirty sail, which he afterwards found to be a convoy of French merchantmen from Port au Prince, in the West Indies, bound to France. A general chase was immediately ordered; but it was evening before the headmost of the British fleet reached the enemy, and a fog soon afterwards coming on, twelve only of the merchantmen were taken. The rest, with the two armed ships that accompanied them as a convoy, escaped in the fog.

The French and Spanish fleets again formed a junction this year, as they had done in the preceding one. They did not however attempt to enter the channel, but cruised in that tract through which the outward-bound trade from Great Britain to the East and West Indies usually passes, and from their number spread over an immense extent of sea. A fleet for the East Indies, and another for the West Indies, sailed together from Portsmouth towards the end of July, under the convoy of captain Moutray of the *Ramillies*, attended by two frigates, and unfortunately, in the night of the eighth of August, fell in with that division of the combined fleet which was commanded by Don Lewis de Cordova. The *Ramillies*, with the two frigates, and a few merchantmen,

men, escaped: All the rest, amounting to more than forty sail, were taken and carried into Cadiz. This misfortune was the more severely felt, as a number of the ships were loaded with naval and military stores for the use of the settlements in those parts of the world to which they were bound. Not long afterwards admiral Geary resigned his command, and was succeeded by admiral Darby.

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The opposite grand fleets did not this year come in sight of each other: Of course nothing decisive was done by sea. But several hard-fought actions took place between single ships, in which British valour maintained its wonted superiority. In these actions the *Belle Poule* of thirty-two guns became a prize to the *Nonfuch*, commanded by sir James Wallace: The *Artois* and *Pearl*, two French frigates, were taken by commodore Johnstone, in the *Romney*; the *Nymphé*, by captain Peere Williams in the *Flora*; and the count d'Artois, a private ship of war, mounting sixty-four guns, by captain Macbride in the *Beinfaisant*. Nor must we omit a gallant action performed by captain Moor, of the *Fame*, a private ship of war belonging to Dublin, who alone attacked five French privateers, drawn up to receive him off Cape de Gat, and captured four of them.

The siege and blockade of Gibraltar was still continued by the Spaniards; but with no greater prospect of success than when it commenced. The danger of a famine, arising from the long continuance of the blockade, was averted by the supplies which admiral Rodney conveyed in the beginning of the year: And all the other efforts of the Spaniards to reduce it, were either prevented from taking effect by the vigilance of general Elliott, or successfully resisted by the determined spirit and persevering bravery of the garrison.

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After relieving Gibraltar, in the manner already related, admiral Rodney proceeded to his station in the West Indies, and arrived at St. Lucie on the twenty-seventh of March. The reinforcement of ships, which he carried out, brought the contending fleets nearer to an equality; the superiority in numbers still, however, remaining with the French. But although, before the arrival of admiral Rodney, the French fleet was so much superior to that of Great Britain in the West India seas, no advantage was obtained proportioned to that superiority: On the contrary, the trade of the enemy had been greatly annoyed, their force lessened by the capture of several of their frigates, and the empire of the sea disputed with an undaunted firmness which no superiority in number could dismay. Only two days before the arrival of admiral Rodney, monsieur de la motte Piquet, who was cruising with four ships of seventy-four guns, and two frigates, for the protection of the French trade, fell in with and attacked three British ships of war, one of them mounting sixty-four, another fifty, and the third only forty-four guns, the largest commanded by the honourable captain Cornwallis. Notwithstanding the great disparity both in number and force, the British commander gallantly prepared to receive the enemy's attack, and to give a new display of British valour on that element on which it seems peculiarly destined to shine. The engagement began about five in the afternoon, and was continued during the whole night, and part of the following day, when the combatants separated, as if by mutual consent, to repair their respective damages. On the third day in the morning, a British ship of sixty-four guns, and two frigates, having appeared in sight, captain Cornwallis resolutely bore down upon the enemy to bring them again to action:

tion: But the French squadron had suffered so much in the first engagement, that monsieur de la Motte Piquet declined to renew it, notwithstanding the superiority of force he still possessed. Also, previous to the arrival of admiral Rodney, the count de Guichen, with twenty-five ships of the line, eight frigates, and a number of transports with troops, had appeared before St. Lucie, and discovered an apparent design of attacking it; but after viewing the dispositions made on shore, by general Vaughan, and the judicious arrangement of the squadron under admiral Hyde Parker, for repelling the attack, he thought proper to return to Martinique, without making the attempt. This visit was returned by sir George Rodney soon after his arrival. On the second of April he sailed for Fort Royal Bay, in Martinique, to offer battle to the enemy, and approached near enough to exchange some shot with their batteries on shore. The count de Guichen however did not think fit to come out: And admiral Rodney, after remaining two days before Fort Royal, and endeavouring in vain to provoke the enemy to an engagement, returned to St. Lucie, leaving some fast sailing vessels to bring the earliest intelligence of any movement that should be made by them.

Nothing happened till the fifteenth of April, when, in the middle of the night, the count de Guichen came out of Fort Royal harbour, and sailed with twenty-three ships of the line, and a number of frigates. Immediate intelligence being conveyed to sir George Rodney, he instantly put to sea, with twenty ships of the line. On the sixteenth he got sight of the enemy, and on the seventeenth, after various manœuvres practised on both sides, by the one to elude, and by the other to force an engagement, the French fleet

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fleet was brought to action. The firing began about one, and did not cease till four in the afternoon. The Sandwich, sir George Rodney's ship, after beating three of the enemy's fleet in succession, out of the line, engaged with the Couronne, the count de Guichen's ship, supported by two others, the Triumphant and Fendant, and although alone, maintained this unequal combat for an hour and a half, at the end of which the French admiral bore away. At this time the enemy might be said to be completely beaten; but such was the distance of the van and the rear from the centre of the British fleet, and such the crippled state of several of the ships, particularly the Sandwich, which for twenty-four hours was with difficulty kept above water, that an immediate pursuit could not be ordered with any prospect of advantage. In the mean time every endeavour was used to refit the disabled ships; and on the twentieth, the British commander again descried the enemy. He pursued them, for three days successively, but without effect. They studiously avoided an engagement, and endeavoured to push for Fort Royal in Martinique. From this retreat they were however cut off by sir George Rodney, who had penetrated their intention in time to counteract it; and they were at last obliged to take shelter under Guadaloupe. In the action the loss of men on board the British fleet amounted to one hundred and twenty killed, and three hundred and fifty-three wounded: That of the French in killed and wounded was said to be near one thousand. Although a victory was undoubtedly obtained, it is plain, from the British commander's dispatches, that it was not so complete as he wished, and had reason to expect at the beginning of the action: And although blame is not directly imputed to any of the officers under him,

him, it is apparent that he thought himself not well supported by some of them. Sir George Rodney, finding, from an ineffectual pursuit of three days, that it was in vain to follow the enemy any farther, judged it best, as the next possible chance of bringing them again to action, to be off Fort Royal in Martinique before them, the only harbour in the West Indies where they could repair their damages. To Fort Royal he accordingly directed his course, and continued to cruise off Martinique, until the condition of some of his own ships obliged him to return to Gros Islet Bay in St. Lucie to refit.

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The sick and wounded having been landed, and the fleet watered and refitted, the British commander receiving information by his cruisers, on the sixth of May, that the French fleet was approaching to windward of Martinique, immediately sailed in quest of it with nineteen ships of the line, two ships of fifty guns, and some frigates. After beating to windward for several days, he at last got sight of the object of his wishes: But it was not the intention of the count de Guichen to risque an engagement, and being to windward, he had it much in his power to avoid it; yet not so effectually, but that the rear of his fleet was brought to action by the van of sir George Rodney's on the fifteenth and nineteenth of May, and on both days the advantage was manifestly on the side of the latter. After the last of these actions, the French fleet stood to the northward with such a press of sail, that in three days their whole fleet was out of sight. Their superiority in sailing was such, that all further pursuit seemed in vain; and sir George Rodney, having been led in chase of them already forty leagues to windward of Martinique, proceeded to Barbadoes to refit such of his ships as had been disabled in

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in the late engagements. The absence of the British fleet afforded an opportunity to the count de Guichen, which he did not fail to embrace, of returning with his shattered squadron to the harbour of Fort Royal.

That sir George Rodney should put his fleet in the best possible state, and that he should occupy a windward station, became the more necessary, in consequence of information, received by him about this time, of the approach of a fleet from Spain, which if suffered unmolested to join that of France, would give to the latter a dangerous superiority. The Spanish fleet, of which he received information, had sailed from Cadiz on the twenty-eighth of April, under the command of Don Joseph Solano, and consisted of twelve ships of the line, a proportionable number of frigates, and eighty-three transports, having on board near twelve thousand troops, and a considerable train of artillery. That the British Admiral might not lose the opportunity of intercepting this armament, he used the greatest dispatch in refitting his fleet at Barbadoes; and having put to sea as soon as it was in readiness, cruised in that latitude, in which, according to the information conveyed to him, there was the greatest chance of meeting with Don Solano. But the extreme caution of the latter proved the means of his safety, and defeated all the attempts of the British admiral to intercept him. Instead of sailing directly to Fort Royal Bay, in Martinique, the appointed place of rendezvous, he kept more to the northward, and stopped short at Guadaloupe, dispatching a frigate to acquaint count de Guichen of his arrival, and requesting a junction where he then was. The count de Guichen, upon receiving this intelligence, immediately sailed, with eighteen ships of the line, and keeping to leeward of the islands,

islands, joined the Spanish Squadron under Domini-
nique. CHAP. XXXVIII

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The combined fleet now possessed so great a superiority, that it had nothing to fear from Sir George Rodney; and the land force that accompanied it was so considerable as to portend ruin to the British interest in the West Indies, by the successive reduction of all the islands. It was generally supposed that the conquest of Jamaica was the principal object of the Spanish armament, in effecting which the French fleet, without doubt, was to co-operate. But the Spanish troops had been so crowded on board the transports, that a pestilential distemper broke out amongst them: And it raged with such violence about the time of their arrival in the West Indies, that it became necessary to land the men in order to check its progress. For this purpose, the combined fleet proceeded to Fort Royal Bay in Martinique: And the allies were for a time obliged to suspend their operations.

Sir George Rodney having been disappointed in his design of intercepting the Spanish Squadron, returned to Gros Islet Bay in St. Lucie, as the most convenient station for obtaining early intelligence of any movement made by the enemy. Although their numbers had been lessened by the contagious distemper, they were still in sufficient force to have attempted the conquest of Jamaica with every prospect of success: But a difference of opinion between the two commanders proved fatal to the expedition. After remaining inactive for several weeks in the bay of Fort Royal, the combined fleets put to sea in the night of the fifth of July, without making signals or shewing lights, and directed their course to Saint Domingo. Here they separated, the Count de Guichen, with the French fleet, putting in to Cape François, whilst

July.

Don

CHAP. Don Solano with the Spanish fleet, proceeded to
 XXXVIII the Havannah. The count de Guichen remained
 at Cape François only until the homeward-bound
 trade from the French islands had assembled,
 when, taking it under his protection, he sailed
 directly for Europe.

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Sir George Rodney probably concluded that the count de Guichen only meant to convoy the trade to a certain latitude, and then proceed to the continent of America, to execute the plan concerted with general Washington; and that he might be in readiness to thwart the count's operations there, as he had already done in the West Indies, he sailed for New York with eleven ships of the line and four frigates, where he arrived in September, as has been already related. But the truth was, that the count de Guichen's fleet was not in a condition to execute his part of the plan: His ships had been so shattered in his different engagements with sir George Rodney, that he found it necessary to return as speedily as possible to Europe, to give them a thorough repair.

In the mean time an incident occurred, which opened more fully to the view of the British cabinet, the hostile designs of the Dutch. So long ago as the month of September in the year 1778, a private interview had taken place at Aix la Chapelle, between William Lee, formerly an Alderman of London, and then an agent for the American congress, and John de Neufville, a merchant of Amsterdam, acting under powers delegated to him by Van Berkel, grand pensionary of that city. The object of their interview was to plan the outlines of a commercial treaty, which might be proper to be entered into between the revolted colonies in America and the Seven United Provinces: And at the conclusion of three conferences, certain provisory articles were agreed

agreed upon, and signed by the respective agents, as those upon the basis of which a treaty might be hereafter formed. Duplicates of the articles were transmitted both to Holland and America; and great secrecy observed to prevent the transaction from coming to the knowledge of the British court. All this was done, whilst the Dutch were pretending to act the part of good and faithful allies to the king of Great Britain, and at his requisition formally prohibiting, in appearance, an intercourse between their subjects and the revolted colonies: And perhaps it was not their original intention to carry the matter farther, but to suffer the clandestine commerce between the Dutch dominions and America, to be conducted agreeably to the provisions of this unfinished arrangement, during the continuance of the war, at the end of which the proceedings of John de Neufville might be either confirmed or disavowed, as suited their interest; and accordingly nothing farther was done towards completing the treaty for near two years. But the finances of the congress had been deranged, and their paper money had been depreciated to such an extent, that they saw it would be impossible to maintain the contest much longer without the aid of a foreign loan, which they found from experience could only be negotiated in Holland: And even there the monied men were averse to trusting their property upon such security as a people could offer, whose sovereignty and independence were yet unacknowledged by the States General. Besides the general interest, therefore, which the congress had in getting the independence of the American states acknowledged by as many of the European powers as possible, they had a peculiar interest in procuring that acknowledgment from the States General, in order to facilitate the negotiation of the proposed loan:

and

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and they were encouraged to hope for success in their solicitations to that end, partly from the favourable disposition of the inhabitants of Amsterdam towards their cause, who had already tasted the sweets of the American commerce, and partly from the prevalence of a party which the intrigues of the court of France had raised in Holland in opposition to the Stadtholder and the British interest.

Commercial treaty between America and Holland.

Moved by such considerations, the congress in the present year appointed their late president, Henry Laurens, to proceed to Holland as their ambassador, with full powers to bring the commercial treaty to a conclusion. Mr. Laurens accordingly embarked at Philadelphia in a vessel bound to Holland, carrying with him all the papers that in any manner related to the object of his mission, and particularly the provisional commercial articles settled between William Lee and John de Neufville. But the vessel was taken on her passage to Europe, and with her Mr. Laurens and his papers; the box containing them, which had been thrown overboard, having been prevented from sinking by the alertness of a British seaman.

Mr. Laurens's papers having furnished the British ministry with full evidence of what they had long before suspected, the unfriendly disposition of the Dutch, their connexion with the revolted colonies, and the underhand practices of the pensionary Van Berkel to make that connexion still closer; they determined to demand instant satisfaction for the injury. For that purpose the papers, which afforded the evidence, were transmitted to the British ambassador at the Hague, who was instructed to present a memorial to the States General, requiring them to disavow the proceedings of the pensionary Van Berkel and his accomplices,

plices, and to inflict upon them a punishment suitable to the magnitude of their offence: He was further enjoined to declare, that, if satisfaction in these respects should be either refused or delayed, the States General would be considered as making themselves parties to the injury, and such measures be pursued as the law of nations authorised for compelling a reparation of the wrong. The memorial was accordingly presented; and no satisfactory answer being returned by the States General within the time expected, the British ambassador was recalled from the Hague, and on the twentieth of December, letters of reprisal were ordered to be issued against the Dutch. In the mean time Mr. Laurens, after an examination before the secretaries of state, was committed on a charge of high treason a close prisoner to the Tower of London.

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*French Attempt on the Island of Jersey---Defeated---
 Naval Exertions of both France and Britain---
 Relief of Gibraltar---Capture of the Dutch Island
 St. Eustatius---And of Demarary and Issequibo,
 Dutch Settlements on the Spanish Main---Fruitless
 Attempt of the French on St. Lucie---The Island of
 Tobago surrendered to the French.*

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HOSTILITIES against the Dutch began on the part of Great Britain by the detention of such of their vessels as were in British harbours, until it should be known in what manner British vessels were treated in their ports. The rich harvest expected from the capture of the Dutch merchantmen excited a fresh spirit of enterprise amongst the British ship-owners: Numerous privateers were fitted out; and in a short time their trade was greatly annoyed. Measures were also taken, and orders sent to the British commanders abroad, for seizing their foreign possessions: And so valuable did the Dutch commerce appear in every quarter, that the policy of the British ministry, in peremptorily requiring them to fulfil their engagements, and shew themselves either sincere and useful allies, or open and avowed enemies, seemed fully justified.

French attempt on the island of Jersey,

The French began the year 1781, with renewing their attempt upon the island of Jersey, in which they had failed two years before. The command of the expedition was given to the baron de

de

de Rullicourt, an officer of courage; but of a temper hot, intractable, violent, and ferocious. About two thousand men were assigned for the service: And with these embarked in transports he sailed from the coast of France, in dark and stormy weather, hoping thereby more completely to surprise the island. Nearly one half of the transports were obliged to put back in distress to the coast of France; but with the rest the baron persisted in his design, and having passed the dangerous shoals of La Roque Platte, where several of his vessels were wrecked, and a number of his troops lost, he landed unperceived in the night of the sixth of January, with eight hundred men, at a place called the Baue de Violet. From thence he marched during the night to St. Helier's, the capital of the island, and early in the morning seizing the avenues, was in possession of the town before the inhabitants were aware of his landing. Not long after the French reached St. Helier's, major Corbet, the lieutenant-governor, was made a prisoner; but not, it seems, till he had an opportunity of dispatching messengers to give the alarm at the other stations occupied by the troops assigned for the defence of the island. The lieutenant-governor being a prisoner, the baron de Rullicourt required him to sign a capitulation for the surrender of the island, threatening, if he refused, to reduce the town of St. Helier's to ashes, and put the inhabitants to the sword. To avoid such dreadful consequences, major Corbet too easily thought fit to comply, after having in vain represented, that no act done by him whilst a prisoner could be binding, either upon the troops or inhabitants. Elizabeth Castle was then summoned to surrender under the terms of the capitulation; but captain Aylward, who commanded, assisted by captain Mulcaster, of the engineers, peremptorily

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torily refused: And the French, who had advanced to the gate, placing the lieutenant-governor in their front, were fired upon and compelled to retire.

In the mean time major Pierſon, upon whom the command of the troops devolved, after the lieutenant-governor became a priſoner, having collected them from their different ſtations, and aſſembled as many of the militia as could be got together, advanced againſt the town, and ſeized the heights adjoining to it. Whiſt he lay in this ſituation he received a ſummons to ſurrender, agreeably to the capitulation; to which he gallantly answered, that unleſs the French themſelves laid down their arms, and ſurrendered within twenty minutes, they might expect to be attacked. An able diſpoſition of his troops was accordingly made; and at the end of that time, the town being aſſaulted on all ſides, the French were ſo fiercely charged, that they retreated from every quarter to the market-place. Here, their force being concentrated, the action was renewed with freſh vigour under the eye of their general, who, diſveſting himſelf of the magnanimity attached to the character of an officer, and even of the feelings belonging to a man, kept by his ſide the lieutenant-governor during the heat of the battle, expoſing him, although a priſoner, to the fire of the Britiſh troops. But at length, the baron de Rullicourt received a mortal wound: When the ſecond in command, ſeeing his troops unable any longer to withſtand the impetuofity of the aſſailants, and his own ſituation hopeleſs, requeſted the lieutenant-governor to reſume his authority, and accept the ſubmiſſion of him and his troops as priſoners of war. In the attack of St. Helier's, the loſs of the aſſailants was not ſo great as might have been expected: Of the Britiſh
regulars

deſeated.

regulars twelve only were killed, and thirty-six wounded; and of the militia four were killed, and twenty-nine wounded. But the death of the brave major Pierſon, who fell at the end of the action and in the moment of complete victory, filled every one with regret. To his gallantry and good conduct, and to the brave exertions of the officers and troops under him, his country was indebted on the preſent occaſion for the ſafety of Jerſey. Although moſt of the troops were new levies, they fought with the firmneſs of veterans: And the loſs ſuſtained by the militia ſhews that they were entitled to a full ſhare of merit for the ſucceſs of the day. Of the enemy not one eſcaped, all who ſurvived the action being made priſoners of war. In this manner ended the ſecond expedition undertaken by the French againſt the iſland of Jerſey, under all its circumſtances more diſaſtrous to them than the firſt.

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In the mean time they were ſtraining every nerve to place their marine upon a more reſpectable footing, and to fit out ſuch a fleet as might give them a decided ſuperiority in the Weſt Indies during the following ſummer: Whiſt the Britiſh miniſtry on the other hand exerted themſelves not leſs ſtrenuouſly, to equip ſuch a force as might be adequate to the various ſervices which the war in its extension required them to provide for. That which was the moſt preſſing, and demanded their immediate attention, was the relief of the gariſon of Gibraltar, more endangered by the want of ſupplies, in conſequence of the blockade, than by the tremendous fire from the enemy's batteries. Gibraltar having received no ſupplies ſince thoſe conveyed by ſir George Rodney in the beginning of the preceding year, both the gariſon and inhabitants were at this time in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions. The allowance to the gariſon

Naval exertions of both France and Britain.

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1781. length became so bad as to be scarcely eatable.
Fresh provisions, when they could be procured,
sold at the most enormous prices: Pigs at two
guineas, turkies at three, geese at thirty shillings,
fowls and ducks at ten shillings, damaged biscuit
at a shilling the pound, pease at eighteen-pence;
and all other necessaries in proportion. Fuel was
so scarce, that it was with difficulty enough was
found for dressing their victuals. These distresses
were known in England: The necessity of attempt-
ing to relieve the garrison was of course urgent;
but the difficulty of accomplishing it was great.
The Spanish fleet, under Don Louis de Cordova,
had orders to cruise upon the coast of Portugal,
and was represented to consist of thirty ships of the
line: A French fleet, not much inferior, was al-
most in readiness to put to sea from Brest; and
all the force, which the British ministry could
spare from other services for the relief of Gibralt-
ar, consisted only of twenty-eight ships of the line.
These, however, were commanded by the admiral-
s Darby, Digby, and Ross, all of them officers
of great professional reputation. With this fleet
admiral Darby sailed from Portsmouth on the
thirteenth of March, taking under his convoy the
trade bound to the East and West Indies; and
having touched at Cork to receive the transports
with provisions, and afterwards conducted the
outward-bound trade as far as was thought neces-
sary, he left them to pursue their voyage, and
steered directly for the bay of Cadiz; into the
harbour of which Don Louis de Cordova, upon
receiving intelligence of admiral Darby's ap-
proach, had thought fit to retire with the Spanish
fleet, without daring to risque an engagement.
Whilst admiral Darby cruised off Cadiz and the
mouth

mouth of the Straits, keeping the Spanish fleet in port, the transports with the provisions and stores proceeded to the place of their destination, under the convoy of the division of the British fleet commanded by admiral sir John Lockhart Ross: And thus, to the utter mortification of Spain, Gibraltar was a second time relieved, and supplied with every thing necessary for sustaining the siege.

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Relief of
Gibraltar.

Whilst the British fleet was absent on this service, that of France destined for the West Indian station, and consisting of twenty-one ships of the line, sailed from Brest under the command of the count de Grasse. The French possessions in that quarter, from the inferiority of the squadron left for their protection by the count de Guichen when he returned to France at the end of the preceding summer, had been exposed to the attempts of the British commanders during the winter, and probably some of them owed their safety to the war with Holland. Sir George Rodney, after remaining at New York until the hurricane season was over, returned to the West Indies towards the close of the former year, and in conjunction with general Vaughan was meditating a descent upon some of the French islands, when he received information of the rupture with the Dutch, and instructions to commence hostilities against their West Indian possessions. Of these the little island of St. Eustatius claimed the first attention, not from its intrinsic value, but as being a general depot of merchandize, from whence not only the American colonies, but the French islands also, derived considerable supplies: And it was the more obnoxious to British vengeance, that the commerce between it and the American colonies, connived at by the States General, was the original cause of difference between the two nations, which at last produced an open rupture. Of
small

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February.

small extent, of barren soil, and without any native productions of value, the island of St. Eustatius was of no importance, except from its commerce. Being a free port, it was inhabited by people of all nations, who resorted thither for the sake of carrying on commerce with their respective countries; and during the present war, from the great demands for merchandise of all kinds in America, the trade of the island had increased to an amazing extent. So considerable was the importation of merchandise into St. Eustatius, that the bulkier articles, for want of room in the warehouses, lay in the streets. The whole island was a kind of natural fortification, with only one convenient landing-place; but nothing had been done towards improving those defensive advantages, nor was it even provided with any thing like a sufficient garrison. Such was the situation of St. Eustatius, when sir George Rodney and general Vaughan, on the third of February, appeared before it with a force of ships and troops more proportioned to the importance than to the difficulty of the acquisition. A summons was immediately sent to the governor, requiring him to surrender the island; with which knowing its defenceless state, and his utter inability to make any effectual resistance, he thought it prudent without delay to comply: And thus the island of St. Eustatius, with all its stores of merchandise, was surrendered at discretion to the British navy and army. The value of the merchandise thus surrendered was supposed to amount to four millions; and whatever parts of it belonged to the Dutch, the French, or the Americans, unquestionably became lawful prize to the captors. But several British agents having settled there for the purpose, as they pretended, of purchasing American produce under the implied sanction of an act of parliament, it became

became a question, whether the property of such persons, considered as inhabitants of St. Eustatius, was or was not subject to confiscation. Perhaps some distinction ought to have been made between those British agents, who had *bona fide* settled in St. Eustatius for the purpose aforesaid, and those who were also concerned in carrying on an illegal intercourse, either with the revolted subjects of Great Britain, or her open and avowed enemies; and possibly it was not an easy matter to make the proper discrimination. However this might be, the proceedings of the British commanders with respect to the property of such persons, became afterwards the subject of much controversy in the courts of law, and of great vexation to the captors themselves, in consequence of the opposite decisions given by some of the tribunals before whom the St. Eustatius prize causes were successively carried.

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A Dutch frigate of thirty-six guns, five ships of war of inferior force, and more than one hundred and fifty sail of merchantmen, were taken in the bay; and a fleet of thirty ships richly laden, which had sailed from St. Eustatius for Holland two days before its capture, were pursued, overtaken, and brought back, together with their convoy, a ship of sixty guns, commanded by an admiral. The surrender of St. Eustatius was followed by that of the islands of St. Martin and Saba in its vicinity; and the Dutch colours having been kept flying upon the forts of the captured islands for some time after the surrender, a number of French, American, and Dutch vessels were decoyed by the snare, and became an easy prey to the new possessors.

After the capture of St. Eustatius, general Cunningham, governor of Barbadoes, sent a summons, by captain Pender, of his majesty's sloop

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and of Demarary and
Issequibo,
Dutch settlements on
the Spanish
main.

sloop Barbuda, to the inhabitants of the Dutch settlements upon the Spanish main bordering on the river Demarary and Issequibo, informing them of that event, and requiring them to surrender to his majesty's arms. These were new settlements, but from the richness of their soil of great future expectation. Being totally unprovided for defence, the inhabitants, in answer to the summons, sent a deputation to governor Cunningham, with an offer to surrender upon the supposed terms granted to St. Eustatius. In the mean time a squadron of British privateers, chiefly belonging to the port of Bristol, upon hearing of the Dutch war, united their force, and boldly entering the rivers Demarary and Issequibo, cut out even from under the Dutch forts and batteries, and brought off, almost all the Dutch ships of value in either river. The deputies sent from these settlements to governor Cunningham, of Barbadoes, were by him referred to sir George Rodney and general Vaughan at St. Eustatius, who disdaining to take any advantage of the improvident offer of the inhabitants to share the same fate as the people of St. Eustatius, and thinking that a line of distinction ought to be drawn between the inhabitants of those Dutch colonies, who, previously to the commencement of hostilities against Holland, had openly assisted the enemies of Great Britain, in violation of the treaties subsisting between the two nations, and such as, occupied in their own domestic affairs, had given no such provocation, granted to the deputies, terms of capitulation sufficiently liberal, by which the inhabitants of those settlements were secured in the full possession of their civil government and private property.

Whilst sir George Rodney remained at St. Eustatius, and before he had finished the variety
of

of business in which he was involved, by the capture of that island, the disposal of the merchandise found in it, and the claims of the British merchants, advice was brought to him of the sailing of count de Grasse from Brest, with the French fleet destined for the West Indies. Upon receiving this intelligence, sir Samuel Hood and rear-admiral Drake were immediately dispatched to windward with eighteen ships of the line, to endeavour to intercept and bring the count de Grasse to action, before his force was increased by the junction of the French squadron already at Martinique. These admirals accordingly proceeded to Fort Royal Bay, off which they cruized until the twenty-eighth of April, when the advanced ships announced by signal the approach of the French fleet. A general chase to windward was immediately ordered, and the line of battle a-head formed, which was continued during the whole night, in order more effectually to cut off the French fleet from the harbour of Fort Royal. In the morning the French fleet was still to windward, and the convoy close in with the land: It was of course in the power of the count de Grasse, by bearing down, to engage when he pleased; but he kept at a distance, and avoided an engagement. Every exertion was made by the British commanders to bring him to action, and in the course of the various evolutions practised by them with this intention, the French squadron in Fort Royal Bay unfortunately found an opportunity of coming out and joining their admiral. By the junction, he acquired a superiority of force over the British fleet, in the proportion of twenty-four to eighteen, but still avoided a close engagement. The endeavours of the British commanders to come up with him were nevertheless unremittingly continued;

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CHAP. continued; and they so far succeeded, as to
 XXXIX. bring on a partial action. Only the van and
 1781. some ships of the centre of the British fleet
 could get near enough to engage; and in their
 struggles to close with the enemy, they were
 for a considerable time exposed to a great su-
 periority of fire, and sustained much damage.
 The loss of men was not great; but at the end
 of the engagement, which lasted about three
 hours, the *Ruffel* was found to have received
 so many shots between wind and water, that she
 was obliged to bear away for the island of St.
Eustatius to refit: Four other ships were also
 much disabled. The enemy did not escape
 without damage; but their superiority of force
 still remained. The next morning sir Samuel
Hood endeavoured to gain the wind of the ene-
 my, that he might engage with less disadvan-
 tage; but it was to no purpose. At last, find-
 ing all his efforts ineffectual, and several of his
 ships so crippled as to be unfit for immediate
 action, he bore away for *Antigua* to get them
 refitted, and was followed by the count de *Grasse*,
 with the whole French fleet. The next day some
 ships in the rear of the British fleet being in dan-
 ger of being cut off, sir Samuel *Hood* bore down
 with the van and centre for their protection,
 and made so resolute a stand, that the count de
Grasse, notwithstanding his great superiority, did
 not dare to persist in the attempt; but soon af-
 terwards gave over the pursuit, and returned to
Martinique.

Whilst the British fleet proceeded to *Antigua*
 to refit, an attempt was made by the French to
 May. regain possession of the island of St. *Lucie*. In
 the night between the tenth and eleventh of May,
 a force from *Martinique*, commanded by the vis-
 count

count Damas, acting under the orders of the Marquis de Bouillé, who accompanied him, landed upon the island in three different places, and early the next morning surprised the town of Gros Islet, and made prisoners some sick of the forty-sixth regiment that were in the hospital. Pigeon Island, which commanded the anchorage-ground in Gros Islet Bay, and was garrisoned by a company of the eighty-seventh regiment, under the command of captain Campbell, and some seamen under the direction of lieutenant Miller, of the navy, was immediately summoned to surrender, with a threat, that the garrison, in case of refusal, might expect to suffer all the severities authorised by the laws of war: But captain Campbell, the commanding officer, bravely bid defiance to the enemy, and resolved to defend his post to the last extremity. On the day after the landing of the troops, the count de Grasse appeared with twenty-five ships of the line, and stood in for Gros Islet Bay, as if with intention to anchor; but was soon obliged to alter his design, and fall to leeward, in consequence of a well-directed fire from the batteries on Pigeon island. In the mean time general St. Leger, who commanded at St. Lucie, had made a most judicious disposition of his little force for the defence of the island: And the fortunate arrival of a frigate and two sloops of war, supplied him with a reinforcement of seamen to assist in manning the batteries. So determined an appearance of resistance entirely disconcerted the views of the French commanders, who had expected an easy conquest. The enterprize was in consequence abandoned: Their troops were re-embarked in the night: And the next morning their whole fleet returned to Martinique.

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1781.

Fruitlessat-
tempt of
the French
on St. Lu-
cie.

This

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This fruitless attempt upon St. Lucie was followed by another against the island of Tobago, which proved more successful. A small squadron of ships from Martinique appeared before it on the twenty-third of May, having on board twelve hundred troops, under the command of the sieur Blanchelande, governor of St. Vincent's, who effected a landing the next day. The whole force that could be collected for the defence of the island, did not exceed five hundred men of all denominations, including regulars, militia, and some armed negroes. With these governor Ferguson took a strong position on Mount Concordia, having first dispatched an advice-boat to Barbadoes, with intelligence of the attack. Mount Concordia was an eligible situation, because from thence both sides of the island might be distinctly seen; and in this position the governor, and major Stanhope, who commanded the regular troops, defended themselves until the first of June. Immediately after the landing of the French troops, a summons was sent to the governor to surrender the island, and an offer was made to grant the most favourable terms; but both were instantly rejected. Threats were then made, that unless the militia returned to their homes, their plantations would be burnt: But these also were disregarded. The sieur Blanchelande, seeing such a shew of resistance, dispatched a vessel to Martinique, requesting a reinforcement. His request was instantly complied with: And a powerful reinforcement, commanded by the marquis de Bouillé in person, and accompanied by the count de Grasse, with the whole French fleet of twenty-five ships of the line, arrived at Tobago on the thirty-first of May. Upon the arrival of the French fleet with this reinforcement, a council of
war

war was held between the governor and his garrison: And the engineers being of opinion that Mount Concordia was no longer tenable against so superior force, a resolution was unanimously taken to retreat to a still stronger position upon the main ridge, the approach to which was by a road of some miles in length, so narrow that two men could not walk abreast, and inaccessible on each side by impenetrable forests. In pursuance of this resolution, the garrison left Mount Concordia at one in the morning of the first of June, unperceived by the enemy, and without molestation reached the defile leading to the main ridge before eight.

No movement perhaps was ever so critically executed, preparations having been made by the enemy for storming the British lines at Mount Concordia on the same morning on which the garrison had evacuated them. And as the marquis de Bouillé, in consequence of the great superiority of his force, entertained no doubt of the success of the attack; so his disappointment was extreme, upon finding that the garrison had escaped to an inaccessible part of the island, where his own numbers could not avail, and where they might defend themselves with ease against any force, so long as their provisions lasted. His chagrin on this occasions seems to have betrayed him into unusual acts of severity, inconsistent with his former conduct of lenity and moderation. Fearful lest the garrison should hold out until the arrival of the British fleet, which might frustrate the whole expedition, he began to execute the threats made by the sieur Blanchelande. Two of the nearest plantations were immediately set on fire: An order was issued to burn four more within the space of four hours; and a flag of truce was

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CHAP. was sent to acquaint the governor and inhabitants,
 XXXIX. that the like execution would be repeated every
 1781. four hours, until the island should be surrendered.

These ruinous devastations overcame the firmness of the militia. To save their property, they determined to capitulate; and in this determination they were joined by the commanding officer of the troops. It was in vain that the governor represented the natural strength of the post which they now occupied, and urged them to persist in the defence of the island until the British fleet should come to their relief. They had already held out for more than a week against a very superior force, in daily expectation of relief: They had also by this time received information that a reinforcement coming to their assistance had been obliged to put back on account of the arrival of the French fleet. They despaired of further relief; and they saw their habitations in flames. Under such circumstances no remonstrances of the governor could prevail; and in order to obtain better terms for the inhabitants, he was at last obliged to yield, and join in a measure which he could no longer prevent. A treaty for a capitulation was entered upon, and terms were obtained for the inhabitants, not less beneficial than those granted to the inhabitants of Dominica. The difference of opinion that had taken place between the governor and the commanding officer of the troops, was the cause of their acting separately in the treaty opened with the marquis de Bouillé; the terms which respected the inhabitants being settled by the governor with their concurrence, and those regarding the regular troops by major Stanhope, without the participation of the governor.

In

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In the mean time the ships of the British fleet, that had been disabled in the late actions between vice-admiral sir Samuel Hood and the count de Grasse, having been repaired, and sir George Rodney having as expeditiously as possible joined the vice admiral with such ships as had remained with him at St. Eustatius, the whole fleet, then amounting to twenty ships of the line, proceeded under his command to Barbadoes, where it arrived on the twenty-third of May, the same day on which the French armament had first appeared off Tobago. Governor Ferguson's dispatch-boat, with advice of that armament, and the attack on Tobago, reached Barbadoes early in the morning of the twenty-seventh; and on the following day, admiral Drake was dispatched to its relief, with six ships of the line, three frigates, and some transports, having on board the sixty-ninth regiment, and two companies of other regiments, under the command of brigadier-general Skeene. This was the reinforcement of which the governor and inhabitants of Tobago had received intelligence: But the previous arrival of the whole French fleet prevented it from landing. As soon as admiral Drake discovered the enemy's fleet lying between him and the island, he returned to Barbadoes, in pursuance of his orders, not to risque his squadron against a superior force. Sir George Rodney now put to sea with the whole fleet; but before he reached Tobago, the island had surrendered.

A train of unfortunate circumstances seems to have led to this event. The island might probably have been saved, had sir George Rodney sailed with his whole fleet to its relief as soon as he was apprized of its danger, instead of sending only a squadron of ships with a reinforcement. The previous intelligence conveyed to the inhabitants, that

CHAP. that admiral Drake was on his passage with this
 XXXIX. reinforcement, rendered the disappointment
 1781. greater, when they found that he was obliged to
 put back, and, added to the burning of their
 plantations, threw them into a state of despair.
 But even after all those unlucky circumstances,
 had there been a more cordial co-operation be-
 tween the governor and the commander of the
 troops, it is possible that the militia, after the ex-
 ertions already made by them, might have been
 prevailed upon to hold out longer: Or even if
 the militia were determined in all events to sur-
 render, such was the nature of the defile, accord-
 ing to governor Ferguson's description, that the
 regulars themselves might have defended it against
 any force, until the arrival of sir George Rodney.
 On the second of June, the capitulation for To-
 bago was signed; and on the fourth sir George
 Rodney, with the British fleet, appeared in sight
 of it.

The British admiral, after receiving intelligence
 of the surrender, stood to the northward, and on
 the fifth of June came in sight of the French fleet
 lying to leeward between him and the Grenadilles.
 Towards the evening the two fleets, steering both
 the same course, approached each other. Sir
 George Rodney, however, although to wind-
 ward, did not think fit to bear down upon the
 enemy, lest he should have got entangled amongst
 the islands of the Grenadilles, and by the currents
 been driven to leeward into the channel between
 Grenada and the Spanish main; whilst the French
 fleet could shelter itself in the harbours and under
 the batteries of that island, and thus gaining a
 windward situation, endanger the safety of Barba-
 does before the British fleet could bear up to its
 assistance. But, as he trusted that the French,
 from their superiority, might be induced to fol-
 low

low him, and thus be led into a track where there would be more sea-room and less danger of being driven to leeward, he kept on his course to windward of St. Vincent's, and gave orders for all the lights of his fleet to be made as conspicuous as possible during the night, that the enemy, if they were disposed to engage, might know that their wishes in the morning would not be disappointed : In the morning, however, the enemy's fleet was not to be seen. In the night it had tacked and steered for Courland Bay, in Tobago ; and during the remainder of the summer, the count de Grasse, notwithstanding his superiority of five ships of the line, cautiously avoided to risque a general engagement.

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HISTORY OF THE

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Reduction of Pensacola by the Spaniards—The combined Fleets of France and Spain, to the Amount of seventy Sail, threaten Destruction to the Marine Force of England—The British Admiral, with twenty-one ships of the Line, prudently retires into Torbay—where the Enemy do not think it advisable to attack him—Causes why the Combined Fleets enjoyed a temporary Superiority over that of Great Britain—Action between a British and a Dutch Fleet, near the Dogger Bank—British Armament sent against the Dutch Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope—Attacked by the French Admiral Suffrein—The Dutch Garrison at the Cape reinforced by the French—Commodore Johnstone makes Prizes of four Dutch East Indiamen—The British Armament under General Meadows sails for the East Indies—Invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally—Defeat and Disaster of a British Detachment under Colonel Baillie—Ravages committed in the Carnatic by Hyder Ally—The Command of the British Army in the Presidency of Madras committed to Sir Eyre Coote—Operations of the British Fleet in India.

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WHILST the French were thus availing themselves of the embarrassed state of Great Britain, to wrest from her her West India islands, the Spaniards were employed upon the continent of America, in recovering the possessions which had been taken from them in the former war. In each of the two preceding years,

as we have already seen, they had conquered a part of West Florida; and in the present year the conquest of the whole province was achieved by the reduction of Pensacola. Don Bernardo de Galvez, intent on making this conquest, went from New Orleans to the Havannah, in the fall of the preceding year, to solicit a force that might be adequate to the purpose. In consequence of his representations the expedition was undertaken, but the first fleet that sailed was dispersed by a storm, some of the ships lost, and the rest obliged to return in distress. The perseverance of Don Bernardo de Galvez was however not to be conquered. Another armament was got ready with all expedition. A land force, amounting to five or six thousand men, with a large train of artillery, was embarked on board transports; and the whole, under the convoy of some ships of war, having sailed from the Havannah in the month of February, arrived in safety off the bar of Pensacola on the ninth of March.

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Reduction
of Pensacola
by the Spaniards.

General Campbell still commanded the British troops in West Florida: but, reduced as they had been by the capture of lieutenant colonel Dickson's detachment on the Mississippi, and the garrison under captain Durnford at Mobile, they did not at this time exceed nine hundred and fifty men, consisting of British regulars, German auxiliaries, part of two provincial regiments, and some militia.

Notwithstanding the great disparity of force between the besiegers and the garrison, the Spanish general thought fit to send for a reinforcement. In the mean time the troops that he had with him were landed, and the British works at Pensacola regularly invested. After some time the expected succours arrived, part of the Spanish garrison of Mobile having marched across the coun-

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try to join in the siege, and a fleet of fifteen ships of the line, under the command of Don Solano, having arrived from the Havannah, with an additional land force of three thousand men. Altho' the defence made by the garrison was brave and spirited, and the progress of the besiegers hitherto proportionably slow; it was apparent, from the force with which it was invested, that the place must ultimately fall: But its fate was unexpectedly precipitated by the baseness and perfidy of a traitor. A man of the name of Cannon, formerly an officer in one of the provincial regiments in garrison at Pensacola, had been broke the year before by a court-martial for ungentlemanlike behaviour, and retired to the Creek country among the Indians, whence he returned as soon as he heard of the landing of the Spaniards, and joined them on the fifth of April. By him they were made minutely acquainted with the state and situation of all the British works, and were thus enabled to direct their fire towards those quarters where it was likely to produce the greatest effect. Indefatigable in his traitorous purpose, he used to climb to the top of a tall pine-tree, commanding a view of the British works, from whence he was enabled to inform the Spanish bombardiers where the shells discharged from their mortars took effect, and whether near or at a distance from the British magazines. Thus instructed, and improved by repeated trials, they acquired such a knowledge as at length enabled them to do fatal execution. On the morning of the eighth of May, a shell bursting at the door of a magazine in one of the advanced works, set fire to the powder within, which in an instant reduced the whole redoubt to a heap of rubbish. By the explosion seventy-six of the garrison lost their lives, and twenty-four were badly wounded. The enemy immediately advanced

advanced to take advantage of the confusion ; but were repulsed in their first attempt by the fire from two flank works, which had been added to the redoubt after the commencement of the siege, and which fortunately were not injured by the blowing-up of the magazine. This repulse procured a short respite to the garrison, during which those who had been wounded by the explosion were carried off, some of the cannon removed from the flank works, which it was now judged necessary to evacuate, and the rest spiked up. The enemy, however, again advanced in greater force, and under cover of the flank works, which had been abandoned, kept up so hot a fire of musquetry upon another redoubt, that the men could no longer stand to their guns. There was also, it seems, a scarcity of ordnance shot in the garrison, from the great number that had been already expended. Under these circumstances general Campbell thought fit to capitulate ; and thus the province of West Florida was once more re-annexed to the Spanish dominions.

In these military operations abroad the French and Spaniards acted separately, but in Europe they undertook a joint expedition against the island of Minorca. The plan of the expedition had been laid in the beginning of the year ; but the necessary preparations delayed the execution of it until the middle of summer. After the return of the British fleet from conveying supplies to Gibraltar, and whilst it cruized near our own coasts, for the protection of the homeward bound trade, a French fleet of eighteen ships of the line sailed from Brest towards the end of June, and in the following month joined the Spanish fleet at Cadiz. At Cadiz was prepared the principal armament destined against Minorca : It consisted of ten thousand men, with a suitable train of artillery, and

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and was commanded by the duke de Crillon, a French general of great reputation. When every thing was in readiness, the armament sailed about the end of July, under the convoy of the combined fleets, and being accompanied by them as far as any danger was to be apprehended, arrived in safety at Minorca. On the twentieth of August the Spanish troops were landed, and being soon afterwards joined by six thousand French from Toulon, St. Philip's Castle, the principal fortress of the island, was regularly invested: But, as the duration of the siege was protracted, in consequence of the brave defence made by the garrison, until the month of February 1782, the account of its progress and termination will more properly belong to the transactions of that year.

The combined fleets of France and Spain, to the amount of seventy sail, threaten destruction to the marine force of England.

The British admiral, with twenty-one ships of the line, prudently retires into Torbay,

The combined fleets having convoyed the armament against Minorca as far as the straits of Gibraltar, and seen it safely into the Mediterranean, altered their course, and sailed for the coast of England, with orders to fight the British fleet. Arriving off the mouth of the channel, they extended themselves in a line across it from the islands of Scilly to Ushant, amounting in all to seventy sail, fifty of them being of the line, and some of these of the largest rate. The attention of all Europe was again directed to the operations of so powerful a fleet, and the destruction of the marine force of England was confidently expected: But the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. Admiral Darby, who was then cruising in the channel, with only twenty-one ships of the line, having fortunately met with a neutral vessel that had passed through the combined fleets a few days before, received from her information of their approach, as well as of their great strength, and prudently withdrew into Torbay, to wait for a reinforcement. In this situation
the

the enemy, vast as their superiority was, and although their orders were to fight, did not dare to attack him. The count de Guichen, who commanded the French fleet, and Don Vincent de Dos, the second in command of the Spanish fleet, were eager to make the attempt, but in a council of war held for deliberating on the subject, their opinions were over-ruled by a great majority. The design of attacking admiral Darby in Torbay being given up, the commanders of the combined fleets next turned their whole attention to intercepting the homeward-bound British trade, but met with no success. The crews of their ships being sickly, and their ships themselves in bad condition, the stormy month of September quickly obliged them to put an end to their cruize. Early in that month they separated, the fleet of France steering for Brest, and that of Spain for Cadiz, where they severally arrived much shattered and disabled. In the mean time great apprehensions were entertained in England for the safety of the homeward bound convoys, more especially as admiral Darby was prevented from sailing by contrary winds, for some time after he received his reinforcements: But fortunately none of the merchant fleets that were expected, arrived upon the coast until after the combined fleets had separated and returned to port; and by the time of their arrival, admiral Darby, with thirty ships of the line, was at sea for their protection.

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advifable to
attack him.

By the various services, upon which, in consequence of the extension of the war, it became necessary to employ separate squadrons, the grand channel fleet was unavoidably weakened; and the combined fleets thereby obtained a more considerable temporary superiority. The war with Holland required that a squadron should be sent into the north sea, as well for the safety of the British trade

Caufes why
the com-
bined fleets
enjoyed a
temporary
superiority
over that of
Great Bri-
tain.

CHAP. to the Baltic, as for the obstruction of that of the
 XL. Dutch. This squadron consisted of an old eighty-
 1781. gun ship, that carried no heavier metal than a
 fifty, an old sixty-gun ship that had been discharg-
 ed, but was lately refitted for service, two seventy-
 fours, a sixty-four, a fifty, a forty four, and four
 frigates; and the command of it was given to
 admiral Hyde Parker, a veteran officer of distin-
 guished bravery. Their Baltic trade being of the
 utmost importance to the Dutch, they strained
 every nerve to fit out a strong squadron for its
 protection, which, when it went to sea, consisted
 of eight ships of the line, and ten large frigates,
 under the command of admiral Zouttman. It so
 happened, that whilst admiral Parker was on his
 return to England, with a large fleet under his
 convoy, admiral Zouttman sailed from Holland,
 having under his convoy a Dutch fleet bound to
 the Baltic. The two squadrons sailed nearly in
 the same track, and in opposite directions, met
 upon the Dogger Bank on the fifth of August;
 and both without delay prepared for action, after
 taking such previous measures as were necessary
 for the safety of their respective convoys. One
 of the Dutch line-of-battle ships had, from some
 cause or other, returned into port, but a forty-
 four gun ship, carrying heavy metal, being sub-
 stituted in her room, admiral Zouttman's line
 still consisted of eight ships of two decks: That of
 admiral Parker consisted only of seven, and of
 these one mounted only fifty, and another forty-
 four, guns. His two smallest frigates were sent
 off with the convoy, and the two largest stationed
 so as to be in readiness to tow off any of the ships
 of the line that might be disabled in the action.

Action be-
 tween a
 British and
 Dutch fleet
 near the
 Dogger
 Bank.

The British fleet being to windward, of course
 bore down upon that of admiral Zouttman, who,
 unlike some modern naval commanders, practised
 no

no manœuvres to avoid a decisive engagement ; but rather seemed to court it, and prepared to dispute the day with his opponent by dint of hard fighting. No gun was fired on either side, until the two squadrons came so near as to be within half musquet shot, when admiral Parker, ranging alongside the Dutch admiral, and the other ships of his squadron bearing down in like manner upon those of the enemy that were opposed to them, the action began and continued with unremitting fury for three hours and a half ; at the end of which both fleets were so disabled, that neither of them could form the line and renew the action. They lay-to for some time, at a small distance from each other, repairing their damages, when the Dutch admiral, with his convoy, bore away for the Texel ; and the British fleet was so disabled as not to be in a condition to pursue. Although no ship was taken on either side, this was by far the hardest-fought battle of any that had yet happened by sea during the war. The obstinate resistance made by the Dutch incontrovertibly proved that however much their navy, in a long course of peace, had been suffered to decline, their officers and seamen possessed the same intrepidity and desperate valour as in the days of Van Tromp and De Ruyter : And although admiral Parker obtained no trophy of victory, the gaining an advantage, with an inferior force, over such an enemy, was a sufficient proof that British sailors, when boldly led to action, without wasting their time in nautical manœuvres, still supported their claim to that pre-eminence by sea, which has been so long the pride and boast of the nation. That an advantage was gained by admiral Parker was very apparent, from the Dutch admiral being the first that bore away : The object

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ject of his sailing was also completely defeated, as the convoy which he had under his charge, was obliged to put back, and could not, after the action, proceed with safety on their voyage. The British fleet also suffered much; and the loss of men was great. It amounted to one hundred and four killed, and three hundred and thirty-nine wounded, amongst whom were a number of valuable officers. But the Dutch ships were so miserably torn and shattered, that it was with difficulty most of them were kept above water until they reached a port; and the *Hollandia*, one of them, actually sunk the night after the engagement, with all her wounded people on board. The loss of men sustained by the Dutch has never been published by authority: It was, however, known to be great, and, according to private accounts from Holland, amounted to near twelve hundred men.

Besides the loss of one of their capital ships, and the unserviceable condition of some of the rest, in consequence of the damage sustained in the action, it was a grievous mortification to the Dutch to see their Baltic convoy obliged to return, and one of the most beneficial branches of their commerce, for this year at least, entirely interrupted. But this was not the only remaining mortification which the fortune of war in this eventful year subjected them to bear. For not long after the action with admiral Parker, intelligence arrived in Europe of the capture of five of their East India ships in Saldanha Bay, on the coast of Africa, by a British squadron under the command of commodore Johnstone.

Previous to the commencement of the Dutch war, this squadron was in some state of preparation, and is said to have been designed to favour
an

an insurrection in the Spanish colonies of South America. And as in another part of this work the interference of foreign powers in disputes between a sovereign and his subjects has been generally condemned, and pronounced to be illegal and unwarrantable, it will be proper in this place to observe, that however true such an assertion, generally taken, must be admitted to be, yet the conduct of the British ministry, had they executed the design here ascribed to them, would have been fairly justifiable upon the ground of retaliation, after the Spaniards had taken a part in the war between Great Britain and her colonies, and actually assisted the latter in their opposition. But this plan, which appears to have been well laid, was never carried into execution*: The rupture with Holland appears to have produced a change of the plan; and the armament was now primarily destined to act against the Dutch possessions at the Cape of Good Hope. The squadron consisted of one ship of seventy-four guns, another of sixty four, three fifty-gun ships, three frigates of thirty-two guns, two sloops of war, two cutters, a bomb-ketch and fire-ship, two ordnance store-ships, eleven transports, five victuallers, and thirteen Indiamen. On board the transports and Indiamen was distributed a land force consisting of the second battalion of the forty-second regiment, with Fullarton's and Humberstone's regiments, of one thousand men each, but all newly

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British armament sent against the Dutch settlements at the Cape of Good Hope,

* The new regiments, of one thousand men each, viz. the 98th and 100th, were completed in January 1781, by William Fullarton, Esq. the author of the plan, the representative of an ancient family of that name in Airshire; and Mr. Makenzie Humberstone, a young gentleman of great hopes, of the family of Seaforth.

raised,

CHAP. raised, four companies from other regiments, and
 XL. a detachment of the royal artillery. The land
 1781. force was commanded by general Meadows, who
 had gallantly distinguished himself, as may be seen
 in a former part of this work, in the successful
 defence of the post of the Virgie against the furious
 attack of the count d'Estaing in the year 1778.

With this squadron, commodore Johnstone
 sailed from St. Helen's on the thirteenth of March,
 in company with the grand fleet under admiral
 Darby, when it went to the relief of Gibraltar, and
 proceeding on his destination, without any mate-
 rial occurrence, until he arrived at St. Jago, one
 of the Cape de Verd Islands, there, on the tenth
 of April, anchored his squadron in Port Praya
 Bay, for the purpose of procuring supplies of fresh
 water and provisions. As the island of St. Jago
 belonged to the Portuguese, a neutral nation,
 Praye Bay was of course a neutral port: And
 by the law of nations the ships and vessels of ei-
 ther of the powers at war, when lying in a neutral
 port, are exempted from insult or molestation by
 the others. In such a situation no danger was ap-
 prehended, more especially as an enemy's squad-
 ron was neither known nor suspected to be in those
 seas; from whence it happened that commodore
 Johnstone's ships were suffered to spread themselves
 about in the bay, without much order, and ra-
 ther with a view to their own convenience in re-
 dily supplying their wants, whereby much time
 would be saved, than for the purpose of defence.
 In this state of security they were suddenly attack-
 ed on the sixteenth of April, by a superior French
 squadron under monsieur de Suffrein. Although
 commodore Johnstone's expedition was to be a
 secret one, it sufficiently appears from what hap-
 pened, that both the Dutch and the French had
 either by their sagacity penetrated into the inten-
 tion

tion of the British ministry, or by their emissaries and spies discovered the real object of the expedition. The former, conscious as they were of the weakness of the garrison at the Cape, and seeing in all their extent the ruinous consequences that would follow its capture, were nevertheless unable to equip a fleet in time for its protection, and in their distress applied to the French for assistance: And the latter, in order to give an earnest of good faith to their new associates in the war, readily complied with the requisition. A squadron, superior in force to commodore Johnstone's, was with all dispatch fitted out at Brest, and sailed from thence only nine days after the commodore left St. Helen's. The squadron consisted of five ships of the line, and several frigates, with a number of East India ships and transports, having on board a considerable land force, and a train of artillery. Monsieur de Suffrein, who commanded it, received orders to counteract the operations of commodore Johnstone wherever he might happen to meet with him, but in an especial manner to provide for the security of the Cape of Good Hope. With such orders he proceeded on his expedition, and having discovered the British squadron at anchor in Port Praya Bay, took the sudden resolution of attacking it, although in a neutral port, expecting probably, in that situation, to find it unprepared for action, and to obtain an easy conquest. In the former of these expectations he appears not to have been mistaken, but in the latter was grievously disappointed. When the alarm was first given, at least fifteen hundred persons are said to have been absent from the ships of the British squadron, employed in the necessary services of watering, fishing, and embarking livestock, and other fresh provisions. The commodore's

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attacked by
the French
admiral
Suffrein.

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dore's first signal was for all persons to return from the shore, which he enforced by the firing of a gun; another was soon afterwards made to unmoor, and a third to prepare for action. But the French commodore gave them little time for preparation. The appearance of his squadron was first communicated by signal from the *Isis*, lying near the mouth of the bay, between nine and ten in the morning; and before eleven monsieur de Suffrein, having separated from his convoy, entered the bay with five ships of the line. In the *Heros*, of seventy-four guns, he led the way, and, firing at the *Isis* as he passed, kept on his course until he was within a cable's length of the *Monmouth* and *Hero*, two of the largest ships of the British squadron, and there dropped his anchor; the next French ship that followed was the *Annibal*, which shot a-head of monsieur de Suffrein, and there dropped anchor; the third, the *Artesien*, anchored about the same distance astern: And in this situation they began a heavy cannonade, springs having been passed on their cables before they entered the bay. The other two French ships, the *Sphynx* and the *Vengeur*, did not anchor, but ranged about the bay, firing at every ship as they passed, and endeavouring to board the merchantmen; but in this they had little success. Notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, the fire of the French squadron was returned with vigour and effect by such of the British ships as could bring their guns to bear. Captain Alms, in the *Monmouth*, kept up a well-directed fire; and from the *Hero*, captain Hawler issued a constant, awful, heavy discharge of artillery. On board the last of these ships commodore Johnstone removed, soon after the beginning of the action, finding that the *Romney*, from her particular situation, was likely to have no great share

share in it : He was accompanied by general Meadows, and captain Saltern. Captain Paisley, in the Jupiter, by working hard from the beginning of the business, had got a spring upon his cable, by which means every shot from his ship took effect. Even the East India ships, recovering after a time from their surprise, materially assisted in the action. It was not long before the Artesien, that had anchored astern of monsieur de Suffrein, quitted her station, and went out to sea, carrying with her the Hinchinbroke East India-man. She had also boarded the Fortitude ; but her decks were quickly cleared of Frenchmen by the gallantry of captain Jenkinson, of the ninety-eighth regiment, who, with his company, poured in upon them a constant and well-directed fire of musquetry. They had afterwards the satisfaction of taking out of the water, and saving two of the enemy, who in the conflict had been forced overboard, and could not regain their own ship by swimming. About three quarters of an hour after the commencement of the action, the French commodore, finding his situation too hot to be longer endured, cut his cable and followed the Artesian. The Annibal, the only remaining French ship, was now left as a mark to be fired at by every British ship that could bring her guns to bear upon her, and in a short time was reduced to an apparent wreck. Such a picture of distress, it is said, was scarcely ever seen. Having remained in this situation for near a quarter of an hour, her cable was either cut or shot away, when the ship turning round on her heel, drifted out to sea before the wind, her mast tottering, her yards hanging different ways, and her sails in rags. As she passed along, her mizen-mast first, and afterwards her main-mast, fore-mast, and
part

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part of her bowsprit, in succession fell into the sea. After she got clear of the British ships, some of her companions took her in tow, and, to the surprise of every one, the *Annibal*, notwithstanding her disabled situation, had the good fortune to escape. The commodore, after summoning by signals all his captains, and receiving from them a report of the state of their ships, ordered a pursuit; and, in the *Romney*, was the first that got out of the bay. He was followed in succession by the rest of his squadron, except the *Isis*, captain Sutton, who being employed in repairing his damages, did not obey his signal for near three hours, although it was enforced by the repeated firing of guns. It is to be remarked, that although the *Isis*, lying near the mouth of the bay, had very little share in the action, she had sustained some damage from the fire of the French ships as they passed and repassed her. The *Isis* having at last come out, the pursuit was continued; but so much time had been already wasted in waiting for her, that before the commodore could come near the French squadron the sun had set, and the wind become boisterous. If he discontinued the pursuit, the probability was, that monsieur de Suffrein would reach the Cape before him: If he continued it, and engaged as soon as he came up, an action in the night was liable to so much uncertainty as scarcely to be reconcilable with the main object of the expedition: On the other hand, if he pursued, but deferred the engagement until the morning, he would in the mean time be led so far to leeward after the French ships, which were running before the wind with all their sails set, that it would be impossible for him afterwards to beat to windward and rejoin his convoy, whereby the expedition would be at once

once frustrated, and a valuable convoy left unprotected. A situation presenting so many difficulties must have been a trying one to any commander, but especially to one of the commodore's impatience and irascibility. However, after considering the matter in every point of view, he determined to follow that course which seemed most consistent with the nature of his instructions. This was, to rejoin his convoy without delay; which he effected with some difficulty, after plying to windward for several days. The Hinchinbroke East Indiaman was retaken the day after the engagement, with twenty-five Frenchmen on board; and the Infernal fire-ship, which had been also carried off by the enemy, was abandoned by them in the night, and, after some days, reached Port Praya Bay in safety: So that monsieur de Suffrein retained no trophy to console him for his repulse. The loss of men in this engagement was not so great as might have been expected, considering the closeness of the action, the smoothness of the water, and the crowded situation of the ships. It amounted to forty-three killed, and one hundred and thirty-four wounded, including officers, and was so equally divided, that almost every ship in the squadron and convoy bore a part. Some of the ships having been disabled, particularly the Hinchinbroke East Indiaman, they were refitted with all possible dispatch; and on the second of May the whole squadron sailed from Port Praya Bay.

As it was much to be feared that monsieur de Suffrein would reach the Cape before the British squadron, which might render an attempt upon it not only extremely hazardous, but perhaps altogether impracticable, the commodore, on the twelfth of June, dispatched four of his smaller

CHAP. XL. fast-sailing vessels to proceed a-head of the rest of the squadron, for the purpose of gaining intelligence, with orders to rejoin him in a certain latitude. The detached squadron, having proceeded to the southward of the Cape, fortunately, on the first of July, fell in with and took a Dutch ship bound for Ceylon, laden with stores and provisions, and forty thousand pounds in bullion, which had left Saldahna Bay only a few days before. From her they learnt that monsieur de Suffrein, with his squadron, and part of his convoy, had arrived at the Cape on the twenty-first of June, where he had landed five hundred men to reinforce the garrison, amongst whom were eighty or ninety artillery men. They also received information that five Dutch East India ships, homeward-bound, and richly laden, were lying in Saldahna bay, about forty miles north from the Cape. With this intelligence, and their prize, the detached squadron returned, and on the ninth of July joined the commodore at the appointed place of rendezvous. A consultation was now held between the commodore and general Meadows, on the subject of the intelligence received by the Dutch prize; and the attempt upon the Cape was given over as impracticable. At this consultation colonel Fullarton was present, and urged the most forcible reasons for resuming (now that the design against the Cape had miscarried) the original project of an attack on the Spanish settlements in South America; from whence they might afterwards proceed to the East Indies, through the Pacific Ocean: But the commodore determined either to take or destroy the ships that lay in Saldahna Bay. In prosecution of this design he steered for the land, and, as he approached the shore, took the pilotage upon himself, judging

The Dutch
garrison at
the Cape
reinforced
by the
French.

judging his distance from it by the depth of water. CHAP. XL.
 So ably was this enterprize conducted, that the British squadron, arriving off the mouth of the bay in the night, entered it with so much rapidity, the commodore in the Romney leading the way, that although the Dutch ships were run ashore, and set on fire by their crews, as soon as they discovered an enemy's squadron, the boats of the British fleet nevertheless arrived in time to extinguish the flames in all of them, except the Middleburgh, on board of which the fire raged so violently that it was impossible to save her. It was now necessary to tow the burning ship to a distance from the rest; a work which was undertaken with alacrity, and performed with success, although with imminent danger, as she blew up with a violent explosion in ten minutes after the boats quitted her. The other prizes were got afloat the same evening. Both the French and British commanders had secondary objects to which their instructions extended, besides what related to the Cape of Good Hope. Monsieur de Suffrein, after providing for the security of the Cape, was to proceed with his squadron to the East Indies: And the instructions to the British commanders imported, that after either the success or failure of the expedition against the Cape, a certain number of the ships should be sent to the East Indies, to reinforce sir Edward Hughes; and in case of failure, part of the troops was also to be sent, and the remainder to proceed to the leeward islands in the West Indies. But the intelligence received by the Dutch prize of the invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally, and of the cutting off of a strong detachment of British troops under colonel Baillie, determined the British commanders to deviate from their instructions,

Commodore Johnstone makes prizes of four Dutch East India-men.

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The British
armament
under gene-
ral Mea-
dows sails
for the East
Indies.

and instead of dividing the land force, to send the whole to the East Indies, to replace the loss of colonel Baillie's detachment. Accordingly, the Dutch prizes, after being fitted for sea, were dispatched without a convoy to St. Helena; and the commodore having accompanied the detachment of ships bound to India with his whole force to the fourth degree of longitude beyond the Cape, there separated from it, and, with the Romney and frigates, returned to St. Helena to join his prizes, and conduct them to England. In their way thither they were separated by a storm; and two of the prizes were unfortunately lost.

In a former part of this work we have already seen that in the first year of the war with the French, the power of that nation in India was almost annihilated. After the taking of Pondicherry, the islands of Eourbon and Mauritius, with the port of Mahie, on the continent of Asia, were nearly all the possessions that remained to them in that quarter of the world. Nevertheless they contrived to maintain their influence with the native powers, and at length, by means of their emissaries, to excite a powerful combination amongst them, which threatened destruction to the British interest. During the course of the former war, the English East India company had acquired so immense an extent of territory, and seemed still so desirous of grasping at more, that the native princes were become jealous of their greatness, and secretly wished the destruction of their power. Many of them had also private grounds of disgust, arising from the rapacity and unprincipled conduct of several of that company's servants. From some cause of difference a war had broken out between the English company and the Mahrattas, a fierce and warlike nation, and one of the most powerful in Hindostan. The celebrated

celebrated Hyder Ally Cawn, regent of the Mysore country, was at the same time engaged in a war with the Mahrattas. But in consequence of the intrigues of French agents, means were found to settle the differences between these two powers, and instead of being enemies, to unite them as friends. Hyder agreed to join the Mahrattas in the war: Powerful succours were promised to be sent from the French islands of Bourbon and Mauritius: And in the end a confederacy against the English was entered into between the Mahratta states, Hyder Ally Cawn, the soubah of the Decan, and the rajah of Berar, to which most of the lesser powers of Hindostan were prevailed upon to accede. Hyder's country is separated from the territories belonging to the India company by a chain of mountains called the Ghauts. From these mountains Hyder, in the month of June 1780, after making all necessary preparations, descended with an army of an hundred thousand men, who spread themselves like a torrent over the country below. For a considerable time before this invasion, intelligence had been repeatedly conveyed from the frontiers to the presidency of Madras, acquainting them with the hostile disposition manifested by Hyder towards the English, and his preparations for entering the Carnatic. But that board treated with contempt all such intimations, and had taken no sufficient measures for the defence of the establishment against such an attack. Amongst other evils flowing from their shameful indifference and inexcusable negligence, this was not the least, that the company's troops on the coast of Coromandel had not been collected together, but were suffered to remain scattered about the country in different districts and garrisons; from whence it happened that when Hyder made his irruption, no sufficient army could

Invasion of
the Carna-
tic by Hy-
der Ally.

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patched his son Tippoo Saib, with thirty thousand horse, eight thousand foot, and twelve pieces of artillery to attack them at Perambacum, and, if possible, prevent his junction with sir Hector Monro. Numerous as the troops composing this detachment were, compared with the small force under colonel Baillie, the latter, nevertheless, with his usual gallantry, and with great slaughter, repulsed them in various fierce attacks, that lasted for several hours. Still however the enemy hovered round him, with an apparent intention of renewing their attacks whenever there should be a favourable opportunity: And as their numbers seemed to increase, colonel Baillie became doubtful whether he should be able to effect a junction, and acquainted the commander in chief with his apprehensions. This intelligence reached sir Hector Monro on the sixth of September, and, in the evening of the eighth, twelve hundred chosen men under colonel Fletcher were detached to reinforce colonel Baillie. These having moved with great expedition, arrived at Perambacum at break of day of the ninth, and in the evening of that day the united detachments began their march towards Conjeveram. As soon as they were perceived to be in motion, the enemy brought some guns to bear upon their left flank, which did considerable execution. These guns captain Rumley, with a detachment, was ordered to storm; but being prevented from reaching them by an unfordable water-course that intervened, he was obliged to return without effecting his purpose. In consequence of the fire of the enemy, and this unsuccessful movement, some confusion and disorder arose amongst the sepoys, which determined colonel Baillie to halt till the morning. In the mean time Hyder Ally, who received minute information of every thing that passed, determined

Defeat and
disaster of a
British de-
tachment
under colo-
nel Baillie.

to

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to take advantage of colonel Baillie's embarrassed situation, and in the night decamped from the neighbourhood of Conjeveram, and marched with his army towards Perambaucum. At dawn in the morning colonel Baillie renewed his march, but had not proceeded far when he found himself environed on one side by Tippoo Saib's army, and on the other by that of his father. Tippoo had already begun to fire upon his left with eight pieces of cannon, and in a short time sixteen were opened upon his right from the army of Hyder Ally. The cannonade was briskly returned by colonel Baillie, and the attacks of the irregular cavalry were successfully repulsed for an hour and a half, when, some of the tumbrils unfortunately blowing up, the British guns were silenced, partly from a scarcity of ammunition, and partly from the number of artillery men that had fallen. The enemy, observing the confusion arising from the blowing up of the tumbrils, now advanced nearer, and seeming in a particular manner to threaten colonel Baillie's rear, he found it necessary to detach for its support captain Ferrier's company of European grenadiers. This movement being made from the front towards the rear, the sepoy, who were unapprised of the cause, and probably conceived it to be a retreat, as soon as they saw the grenadiers in motion, began to follow in great disorder. The grenadiers halted: And every method was taken to restore order, but in vain. The other sepoy, who lay under a heavy cannonade, upon observing the confusion and retreat of their companions, became suddenly panic-struck, and, throwing down their arms, fled to a small coppice-wood at some distance. The Europeans immediately collecting, took possession of a rising ground, where they defended themselves against repeated attacks, whilst the enemy's horse made
dreadful

dreadful havoc amongst the sepoys. It was hoped that the main army, under sir Hector Monro, might still come to their relief: And in the mean time so bravely did this small body of men defend themselves against Hyder's host, that although he advanced, both with his horse and foot, within fifteen yards, he found it impossible to break them. But at last all hopes of succour being at an end, and many having already fallen, the British commander, knowing that it was impossible for such a handful of men to maintain their ground much longer against such a multitude, and willing to save the few that remained, stepped forward with a white handkerchief in his hand, and commanded his men to ground their arms, and call for quarter. But this order was no sooner complied with, than the enemy rushed upon them in the most ferocious manner; and numbers were instantly put to the sword. Nor would the carnage have ceased, notwithstanding the surrender, but for the humane interposition of two French officers, Lally and Pimoran, who at last prevailed upon the barbarian Hyder to spare the gallant remains of the British detachment. The monster gave orders to stop the further effusion of blood: But could the brave men, who were thus become his prisoners, have foreseen the unexampled miseries they were to endure in the dungeons of the tyrant, during a long captivity, they would have deemed immediate death a happy deliverance from his more than savage brutality.

Hyder, fearful of being attacked by the main army under sir Hector Monro, suddenly retreated, after his victory, to a place called the Round Wells, where he had before been encamped. In fact, when Hyder began his retreat, sir Hector Monro, with his army, was at no great distance from him. The cannonade that happened on the evening

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evening of the ninth of September, when the united detachments under Baillie and Fletcher began their march, having been heard at Conjeveram, and reports being brought in, that Hyder's army, which had been encamped in the neighbourhood, was in motion, the British general became apprehensive for the safety of the detachments, and took the resolution of moving that same evening to their assistance. Verbal orders to that effect, it is said, were given; but unfortunately, from some cause or other, the march was delayed until the next morning. When day-light appeared, it was no longer to be doubted that Hyder had decamped; and the cannonade having been heard to commence soon afterwards with redoubled fury, the general immediately gave orders for the army to be put in motion towards Perambaucum. From the mistake of the guide, the army was led by a circuitous route several miles too far to the right, by which some time was lost. When at last it arrived within two miles of the field of action, the firing was observed suddenly to cease; and soon afterwards some wounded sepoys being brought in, that had escaped from the general carnage, related the nature and extent of the misfortune that had happened. Upon receiving this intelligence, the general immediately returned upon his steps to Conjeveram; and after the heavy cannon had been spiked, and such of the baggage and stores destroyed as could not be easily moved, he retreated with the remains of his army to Chingliput, and from thence, in a few days, to the Mount. At Chingliput, the army was joined by colonel Cosby and his detachment, who, although he had to march through a large extent of country, entirely over-run and possessed by the enemy, had the good fortune to arrive in safety, and preserve his cannon and baggage. By the rapidity of his movements, he in some measure eluded the designs

signs of the enemy ; and whenever he was harass-
ed by their cavalry, the well-regulated disposition
of his march, with the good countenance preserv-
ed by the officers and troops, prevented them
from making any serious impression.

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By the retreat of the British army to the
Mount, the whole country was laid open to be
ravaged at pleasure by Hyder and his irregular
host. The dominions of the East India company
on the coast of Coromandel, which of late were
so extensive, might now be said to be confined to
Madras, and a few miles round it, and to such
forts and garrisons scattered about in different
parts of the country as were still occupied by the
company's troops. To reduce these, Hyder now
directed his attention. Arcot, the capital of the
Nabob's dominions, soon fell into his hands, the
reduction of it being hastened by the treachery of
some of the Nabob's principal servants. Not
long afterwards Carangooly and Gingee, with
many other inferior posts, were added to the list
of his conquests. And the presidency of Madras,
of late so full of security, now dreaded all the
horrors and miseries attendant upon a siege.

Ravages
committed
in the Car-
natic by
Hyder Ally.

They had already applied to the governor-gene-
ral and supreme council of Bengal for assistance :
And to the vigorous measures adopted and prose-
cuted by that board must in a great measure be
attributed the favourable change which not
long afterwards took place in the company's affairs
on the coast of Coromandel. General sir Eyre
Coote, commander in chief in India, who was
then at Calcutta, was requested to take upon him-
self the command of the army at Madras ; and in
order to enable him to carry his plans into execu-
tion, independently of the Madras presidency,
who seemed desirous of thwarting all the measures
of the governor-general and commander in chief,
he

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The command of the British army in the presidency of Madras committed to Sir Eyre Coote.

he was furnished with fifteen lacks of rupees, over which sum that board (whose dispositions towards the governor-general, and the majority in his council, were well enough known) were not to possess any controul. Sir Eyre Coote was also empowered to take a seat in the council of Madras; and Mr. Whitehill, the president, was suspended. The commander in chief, although then sixty-three years of age, cheerfully consented to undertake the arduous charge thus committed to him, of endeavouring to restore the prosperity of the company's affairs on the coast of Coromandel, and of freeing that country from the ravages of Hyder Ally. He embarked without delay at Calcutta, with three hundred Europeans in battalion, upwards of two hundred artillery men, five hundred lascars, some pieces of cannon, and a large supply of provisions; whilst ten battalions of sepoys, with twenty pieces of cannon, were under orders to march by land from Bengal to the Carnatic. Instructions were also sent to general Goddard, who commanded the army acting against the Mahrattas, to send by sea to Madras as many troops as he could spare. Sir Edward Hughes was solicited to block up Hyder's sea-ports on the Malabar coast, and prevent him from receiving supplies from the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius; and the government of Bombay received orders to make a diversion on the same coast in favour of the war carrying on in the Carnatic, and thus alarm Hyder for the safety of his own dominions.

Sir Eyre Coote arrived at Madras on the fifth of November, and after surmounting many difficulties and obstacles, which either from the incapacity of the presidency had not been foreseen, or from their negligence, were not provided for, took the field in the beginning of the year 1781, with

with a small but well-appointed army, and an excellent train of artillery. The sieges of Vellore, Wandewash, Parmacoil, and Chingliput, then blocked up by Hyder, were immediately raised; and he, with his whole force, retired to a guarded distance. From this moment the company's affairs on the coast began to wear a more favourable aspect: Some of the forts that had been surprised were in a short time retaken: Hyder's ravages were necessarily confined within narrower limits in consequence of the caution with which he avoided an engagement: And by the British commander's taking the field, the credit of the company's arms, which had been at a low ebb ever since the defeat of colonel Baillie, was restored, and the disaffection of the natives, which had begun to be general, was in a great measure repressed. In the course of the year sir Eyre Coote found means to worst Hyder in several battles; and although the latter still maintained his ground in part of the Carnatic, a large extent of country, which had been over-run, was recovered and freed from his ravages.

Sir Edward Hughes performed the services expected of him: Hyder's ports on the Malabar coast were not only blocked up, but his shipping destroyed at Calicut and Mangalore, two of his principal arsenals, and two of his principal arsenals, and his hopes of becoming a maritime power thus nipped in the bud. Towards the close of this year also, the Dutch fort of Negapatam, in the Tanjore country, the garrison of which had been reinforced by two thousand three hundred of Hyder's troops, was taken by a joint operation of the squadron under sir Edward Hughes, and a land force under sir Hector Monro, which the commander in chief was enabled to spare, after the favourable change that had taken place in the Carnatic.

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Operations
of the British
fleet in
India.

CHAP. Carnatic. The immediate consequence of the
XL. fall of Negapatam was the evacuation of all the
1781. forts and strong places possessed by Hyder's troops
in the Tanjore country and its borders. Such
were the effects of the vigorous measures adopted
by the governor-general and supreme council of
Bengal for the relief and assistance of the Madras
government; and such the successes that attended
the company's troops under the auspices of their
veteran commander sir Eyre Coote*.

* For a more full and particular account of the military and
naval operations in India, at this period, see Memoirs of the
late War (1778—84) in Asia: With a Narrative of the Im-
prisonment and Sufferings of our Officers and Soldiers, by an
Officer of Colonel Baillie's Detachment.

C H A P. XLI.

Disaffection to Great Britain of the Southern Colonies

—The British Army under Lord Cornwallis joined by a large Reinforcement under General Leslie—Action at the Cowpens, between General Morgan and Colonel Tarleton—Colonel Tarleton defeated—Consequences of Colonel Tarleton's Defeat—The army under Lord Cornwallis crosses the River Catawba—Lord Cornwallis, joined by the other Division of the Army under Colonel Webster, pursues General Morgan—A Junction formed between the two Divisions of the American Army—General Greene driven out of North Carolina—The Royal Standard erected at Hillsborough—General Greene, again crossing the Dan, re-enters North Carolina—Lord Cornwallis falls back from Hillsborough, and takes a new Position—Effects of this retrograde Movement—Action near Guildford between Lord Cornwallis and General Greene.

WE must now return to North America, the grand theatre of the war, where it first began, and where the events of the present year were of such momentous importance as to produce a total change in the future conduct of it, and in effect to place within the grasp of the revolted colonies that independence and sovereignty for which they had been so long contending. From the beginning of the year 1779 the principal efforts of the British arms were directed against the southern colonies, not only as they were deemed the easiest to be reduced, but as, from

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Disaffection to Great Britain of the southern colonies.

The British army under lord Cornwallis joined by a large reinforcement under general Leslie.

the nature of their productions, they were the most valuable to the mother-country. Georgia was accordingly recovered in the year 1779, and the province of South Carolina reduced in the year 1780. For some months after the taking of Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina, there was in that province the brightest prospect of returning peace and tranquility. But too soon the sky became overcast; and it was perceived in the southern as it had been already experienced in some of the northern colonies, that the inhabitants after their submission, and even whilst the British troops remained amongst them, did not perform the duties of their allegiance without reluctance, and when left to themselves, quickly reverted to their old courses, and joined the standard of revolt. In the transactions of last year we have endeavoured to assign some motives for this versatility of conduct amongst the inhabitants of South Carolina; but to whatever cause their disaffection was owing, it gave much trouble to earl Cornwallis, and greatly retarded his operations. The efficient army for distant service was so much weakened by the large detachments left behind for overawing the inhabitants, that a single misfortune was sometimes sufficient to render an expedition abortive. In the fall of the preceding year the loss of major Ferguson's detachment obliged lord Cornwallis to return from his northern expedition and fall back to Wynnesborough in South Carolina. Still, however, the projected movement into North Carolina was deemed so essential, that he only waited for a reinforcement to renew it. The expected reinforcement arrived at Charlestown on the thirteenth of December. It consisted of a large detachment of troops under general Leslie, who, upon landing, received lord Cornwallis's orders to march without delay, and join

join him with about fifteen hundred men. The general accordingly, after waiting some few days to procure horses and waggons, began his march on the nineteenth of December.

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In the mean time general Greene, who had succeeded Gates in the command of the American army, finding it difficult to procure a sufficient supply of provisions in the neighbourhood of Charlotte, as that country had been already exhausted; and being sensible that his present force was too weak to attempt any direct operation against lord Cornwallis; resolved to divide it, and by desultory incursions in different, and nearly opposite quarters, to alarm and harass the British out-posts on the frontiers of South Carolina. By such means his troops would be kept in action, and, traversing different parts of the country, would not only be more easily supplied with provisions, but might in their progress infuse some spirit into the militia, without whose assistance and co-operation he saw that he could do nothing effectual. Accordingly the light troops, consisting of three hundred infantry, under colonel Howard, one hundred and seventy rifle-men, under major Triplet, and seventy light dragoons, under lieutenant-colonel Washington, were put under the command of general Morgan, who was directed to proceed by the heads of the rivers to the western frontiers of South Carolina, and threaten the British post at Ninety-six; whilst the rest of the army under general Greene should march to the Pedee, and alarm the country in front of Camden.

Towards the end of December earl Cornwallis received information of the division of the American army, and soon afterwards an account of the movements of general Morgan, who had passed both the Catawba and Broad River, and

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was said to be rapidly advancing to Ninety-six. Upon receipt of this intelligence, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was detached with the light and legion infantry, the fusileers, or seventh regiment, the first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, about three hundred and fifty cavalry, two field-pieces, and an adequate detachment of the royal artillery, in all about one thousand men. He received orders to pass Broad River for the protection of Ninety six, and either to strike at Morgan, and push him to the utmost, or at least oblige him to leave the country. Morgan, in his march, had collected about four or five hundred militia, and upon his approach to the district of Ninety-six, was joined by two hundred more, who had fled from the frontiers of Georgia when Augusta was taken possession of by the British troops. Thus the two detachments were nearly equal in point of numbers, but in cavalry, and in the general quality of the troops, Tarleton was greatly superior*.

The

* Dr. Ramsay, in his History of the Revolution of South Carolina, charges the British with seizing the property of the Americans; and their commissaries and quarter-masters with taking provisions, and all other things wanted by the army, wherever they could be found, charging them, at the same time, to the British government. That speculation was carried on in some departments of the British army, and that many individuals made large fortunes in this way, cannot be denied. But this never took place, in any great extent, in the southern army. And the writer of this, who was commissary to the army under lord Cornwallis, takes the present occasion of repelling the calumnies of Dr. Ramsay, as far as they may relate to himself, and appealing for the innocence and propriety of his conduct to many individuals now living in Carolina, as well as, to the gentlemen of the army in which he served. The commissary, during the time when he was at the Congarees, employed in collecting provisions, and settling refugee families on the deserted plantations of the Americans, without being supported by any troops, or covering

The British army now proceeded to the north-west, between Broad River and the Catawba. This route, leading to the back country, was chosen, that the army might the more easily be enabled to pass the great rivers in its way at the fords near their source : It also afforded a prospect of cutting off Morgan's retreat, if he should elude Tarleton, or at least of preventing his junction with the army under general Greene : Nor was the British general without hopes, that by following this course he might get between Greene's army and Virginia, and force him to an action before he was joined by his expected reinforcements. The detachment under general Leslie, which had been purposely halted at Camden, until lord Cornwallis should be ready to march from Wynnesborough, the longer to conceal from the American general the road which the British army meant to take, now received orders to move up the banks of the Catawba, and join the main army on its march. The march both of lord Cornwallis and general Leslie, encumbered as they were with baggage and artillery, was greatly retarded by the swelling of creeks and water-courses. These obstacles Tarleton also experienced; but having the command of light troops, he more easily surmounted them, and probably overtook Morgan something sooner than was expected.

vering party, furnished supplies to the army at Wynnesborough and Camden, each post being about forty miles from the Congarees. He had several mills to attend and feed daily, some of which lay six miles apart. The number of persons employed by the commissary in this service was about one hundred and twenty negroes, one serjeant of the 71st regiment, one cooper, and four inspectors or overseers. When the campaign opened in January 1781, there was about fifty thousand weight of meal packed and ready for use. The whole expence, as charged by the commissary to government for this service, guides, expresses, collecting, shelling, grinding, packing, wages, &c. did not amount to one hundred pounds sterling.

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The latter, after retreating over the Pacolet, made a shew of disputing Tarleton's passage by guarding the fords. Tarleton however, on the sixth of January, found means to pass over his detachment within six miles of the enemy's encampment; and Morgan was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, leaving in his camp the provisions that were dressing for his troops half cooked. Tarleton advanced and took possession of the ground that had been left by the enemy only a few hours before.

At three in the morning the march of the British light troops was resumed in pursuit of general Morgan; the baggage being left under a guard composed of a detachment from each corps, with orders not to move till daylight appeared. Tarleton, after a fatiguing march through swamps and broken grounds, at length came in sight of the enemy about eight in the morning: Two of their videttes were soon afterwards taken; and from them information was received that the Americans had halted, and were forming at a place called the Cowpens.

General Morgan, finding himself hard pressed by the British troops, had resolved to hazard an action rather than be overtaken in the ford of the river. With this view he drew up his force in two lines, the militia under colonel Pickens forming the first line, and the continentals, under colonel Howard, with the Virginia rifle-men, the second. Washington's dragoons, with some mounted militia, were drawn up at some distance in the rear, as a corps of reserve. The ground which he occupied does not appear to have been well chosen: It was an open wood, and consequently liable to be penetrated by the British cavalry: Both his flanks were exposed; and the river, at no great distance, ran parallel to his rear. In such a situation

tion he gave a manifest advantage to an enemy with a superior body of cavalry; and in case of a defeat, the destruction of his whole detachment was inevitable.

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Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, upon receiving the intelligence communicated by the videttes, resolved, without loss of time, to make an attack upon the Americans. Advancing within two hundred and fifty yards of their first line, he made a hasty disposition of his force. The light and legion infantry, and the seventh regiment, were ordered to form in line, a captain, with fifty dragoons, being attached to each of their flanks; and the first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, and the rest of the cavalry, were directed to form as a reserve, and wait for orders. This disposition being settled, Tarleton, relying on the valour of his troops, impatient of delay, and too confident of success, led on in person the first line to the attack, even before it was fully formed, and whilst major Newmarsh, who commanded the seventh regiment, was posting his officers: Neither had the reserve yet reached the ground which it was to occupy. The first line of the Americans being composed of militia, did not long withstand the charge of the British regulars: It gave way in all quarters, and was pursued to the continentals. The latter, undismayed by the retreat of the militia, maintained their ground with great bravery; and the conflict between them and the British troops was obstinate and bloody. Captain Ogilvie, with his troop of dragoons on the right of the British line, was directed to charge the left flank of the enemy. He cut his way through their line, but being exposed to a heavy fire, and, at the same time, charged by the whole of Washington's cavalry, was compelled to retreat in confusion. The British reserve now received orders

Action
at the Cow-
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tween ge-
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to move forward; and as soon as the line felt the advance of the seventy-first regiment, the whole again moved on. The continentals, no longer able to stand the shock, were forced to give way. This was the critical moment of the action, which might have been improved so as to secure to the British troops a complete victory. An order, it is said, was dispatched to the cavalry to charge the enemy when in confusion; but if such an order was delivered, it was not obeyed; and the infantry, enfeebled by the fatiguing march in the morning, through swamps and broken grounds, and by their subsequent exertions in the action, were unable to come up with the flying enemy. The critical moment lost on the one side was eagerly seized on the other. The American commander, finding that the British cavalry did not pursue, gave orders to Washington to cover with his dragoons the rear of the broken provincials, whilst he exerted himself to rally them. His endeavours succeeded: The continentals were rallied and formed, and now in their turn charged the assailants. In disorder from the pursuit, and unsupported by the cavalry, such of the British infantry as were farthest advanced, receiving this unexpected charge, fell back in confusion, and communicated a panic to others, which soon became general. Washington charged with his cavalry; and a total rout ensued. The militia who had fled, seeing the fortune of the day changed, returned and joined in the pursuit. The British infantry were soon overtaken, as the same causes which retarded them in the pursuit, now impeded their flight; and almost the whole were either killed or taken prisoners. The two field-pieces were also taken, but not till the whole of the artillery-men attached to them were either killed or wounded. It was in vain that Tarleton endeavoured to bring his legion cavalry to charge
and

and check the progress of the enemy : They still stood aloof, and at length fled in a body through the woods, leaving their commander behind. Fourteen officers, however, remained with him, and about forty men of the seventeenth dragoons : At the head of these he made a desperate charge on the whole of Washington's cavalry, and drove them back upon the continentals. But no partial advantage, however brilliant, could now retrieve the fortune of the day : All was already lost ; and Tarleton, seeing nothing farther to be done, retreated with this small but brave and faithful band of adherents, to Hamilton's Ford, upon Broad River, in his way to the main army under lord Cornwallis, then at Turkey Creek, about twenty-five miles from the field of action. The only body of Tarleton's infantry that escaped was the guard left with the baggage, which had not reached the Cowpens at the time of the action : Early intelligence of the defeat being conveyed to the officer who commanded it, by some friendly Americans, he immediately destroyed whatever part of the baggage could not be carried off, and mounting his men on the waggon and spare horses, retreated to the main army unmolested. Few of the legion cavalry were missing : One division of them arrived the same evening in the neighbourhood of the British encampment, with the news of their defeat, and another under Tarleton, who in his way had been joined by some stragglers, appeared the next morning. The whole loss of the British troops, in this unfortunate affair, amounted to at least six hundred men ; and of them near one half was either killed or wounded. The loss of the Americans, according to their report of it, was so small as scarcely to deserve credit. It amounted to twelve killed, and sixty wounded. During the whole period of
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Colonel
Tarleton
defeated.

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the war no other action reflected so much dishonour upon the British arms. The British were superior in numbers. Morgan had only five hundred and forty continentals, the rest militia. Tarleton's force composed the light troops of lord Cornwallis's army. Every disaster that befel lord Cornwallis, after Tarleton's most shameful defeat at the Cowpens, may most justly be attributed to the imprudence and unsoldierly conduct of that officer in the action. It was asked, why he did not consult majors M'Arthur and Newmarsh, officers of experience and reputation, who had been in service before Tarleton was born? Colonel Tarleton, in his History of the Southern Campaigns in America, admits that the ground on which Morgan formed had been described with great perspicuity to him. He also admits, that he had obtained a very accurate knowledge of Morgan's situation, and of the ground on which Morgan had drawn up his army. That there was every prospect of success from the animation and alacrity of his troops; that his troops moved in a good line; that his fire was well supported, and produced much slaughter; that the continentals and back woodsmen gave ground, and the British rushed forward; that the ground which Morgan had chosen was disadvantageous for the Americans, and as proper a situation for action as colonel Tarleton could have wished: Under all these advantages in favour of Tarleton, and disadvantages against Morgan, Tarleton is completely defeated and totally routed. Is it possible for the mind to form any other conclusion, than that there was a radical defect, and a want of military knowledge on the part of colonel Tarleton? That he possesses personal bravery inferior to no man, is beyond a doubt; but his talents at the period we are speaking of never exceeded that of a partizan captain

captain of light dragoons, daring in skirmishes. He could defeat an enemy in detail, by continually harassing, and cutting off detached parties.

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The defeat of his majesty's troops at the Cowpens formed a very principal link in the chain of circumstances which led to the independence of America. Colonel Tarleton acquired power without any extraordinary degree of merit, and upon most occasions exercised it without discretion.

Nothing could be more unexpected by lord Cornwallis, than the news of Tarleton's discomfiture. If he judged from the events of former actions, where the numbers were not so equally balanced, and the disproportion much more in favour of the Americans, he had reason to look for a victory instead of defeat. The disappointment was galling; and the loss of credit cast a shade over the commencement of the expedition.

But another consequence of the defeat was of a still more serious nature: The loss of the light troops, at all times necessary to an army, but on a march through a woody and thinly settled country, almost indispensable, was not to be repaired.

Consequences of colonel Tarleton's defeat.

Deeply as his lordship was affected with the weight of this misfortune, and greatly as he saw his difficulties increased by it, he nevertheless resolved to prosecute the original plan of the expedition into North Carolina, as the only means of maintaining the British interest in the southern colonies. The reinforcement under general Leslie not having yet come up, the eighteenth of January was spent in forming a junction with it; and on the nineteenth the army resumed its march. Some hopes were entertained that Morgan, incumbered as he was with prisoners, might still be overtaken between Broad River and the Catawba.

But

CHAP. But that active partizan, sensible of his danger,
XLI. quitted the Cowpens immediately after the action,
1781. and proceeding to the upper fords on Broad
River, passed it with his detachment and the prisoners. The wounded, who were unable to travel, were left behind under the protection of a flag of truce. From Broad River Morgan directed his course to the Catawba, and moved with so much celerity that he reached it before the British army. Yet, so closely had he been pursued, that the advance of the British troops arrived at the banks of that river in the evening of the twenty-ninth of January, only two hours after the last of Morgan's corps had crossed. A heavy rain, that fell in the night, swelled the river so much as to render it impassable the next morning; and as it continued so for two days, Morgan had time to make an arrangement for disincumbering himself of the prisoners, and sending them off under an escort of militia, by a different route from that which he proposed to take. Whilst the prisoners proceeded, he, with his detachment remained on the north banks of the Catawba, and, by calling out the militia of the country to assist him in guarding the fords, prepared to dispute the passage of the British army.

Previously to the arrival of the British troops on the banks of the Catawba, lord Cornwallis, considering that the loss of his light troops could only be remedied by the activity of the whole army, resolved to destroy all the superfluous baggage. By first reducing the size and quantity of his own, he set an example which was cheerfully followed by all the officers under his command, although by so doing they sustained a considerable loss. No waggons were reserved except those loaded with hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and four empty ones for the accommodation of the sick or wounded,

wounded*. And such was the ardour both of CHAP.
officers and soldiers, and their willingness to sub-
mit to any hardship for the promotion of the ser-
vice; that this arrangement, which deprived them
of all future prospect of spirituous liquors, and
even hazarded a regular supply of provisions, was
acquiesced in without a murmur.

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In the mean time general Greene, upon receiving information of lord Cornwallis's march, and his rapid pursuit of Morgan, left his army upon the Pedee, under the command of general Huger and colonel Williams, with orders to retreat by forced marches to the upper country, in order to form a junction with the light troops wherever it might be practicable, whilst he, with an escort of dragoons, proceeded immediately to that corps, that he might be the better enabled to regulate its movements for facilitating the proposed junction. After travelling with great expedition, he arrived at Morgan's camp on the last day of January.

In the course of two days, the river having fallen so as to render it fordable, lord Cornwallis determined to attempt a passage. That he might perplex the enemy, and draw off their attention from the real object, lieutenant-colonel Webster, with one division of the army, was detached to a public ford called Beattie's, with orders to cannonade, and make a feint, as if he intended to force a passage; whilst lord Cornwallis, with the other division, marched to a private ford near M'Cowan's, where the passage was in reality to be attempted. The division under lord Cornwallis marched from its encampment at one in the morning of the first of February, and reached the ford about dawn. The numerous fires seen on

* The remainder of the waggons, baggage, and all the store of flour and rum, were destroyed at Ramfear's Mill.

the

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The army
under lord
Cornwallis
crosses the
river Ca-
tawba.

the opposite shore quickly convinced the British commander that this ford, although a private one, had not escaped the vigilance of the enemy. General Davidson, with three hundred militia, had been sent to guard it only the evening before. Nevertheless lord Cornwallis determined to proceed; and the passage was gallantly and successfully effected by the brigade of guards under general O'Hara. Plunging into the rapid stream, in many places reaching above their middle, and near five hundred yards wide, they marched on with the utmost steadiness and composure; and although exposed to the fire of the enemy, reserved their own, according to their orders, until they reached the opposite bank. The passage of the river was made in the following order: The light infantry of the guards, led by colonel Hall, first entered the water: They were followed by the grenadiers, and the grenadiers by the battalions, the men marching in platoons to support one another against the rapidity of the stream. When the light-infantry had nearly reached the middle of the river they were challenged by one of the enemy's centinels. The centinel, having challenged thrice, and received no answer, immediately gave the alarm by discharging his musquet; and the enemy's piquets were turned out. No sooner did the guide, who attended the light infantry to shew them the ford, hear the report of the centinel's musquet, than he turned round and left them. This, which at first seemed to portend much mischief, in the end proved a fortunate incident. Colonel Hall, being forsaken by his guide, and not knowing the true direction of the ford, led the column directly across the river, to the nearest part of the opposite bank. This direction, as it afterwards appeared, carried the British troops considerably above the place where the

the ford terminated on the other side, and where the enemy's piquets were posted; so that when they delivered their fire, the light infantry were already so far advanced as to be out of the line of its direction, and it took place angularly upon the rear of the grenadiers, so as to produce no great effect. When general Davidson perceived the direction of the British column, he led his men to that part of the bank which faced it. But by the time of his arrival the light-infantry had overcome all their difficulties: They were getting out of the water and forming, and so soon as they had formed, quickly routed and dispersed general Davidson's militia, killing or wounding about forty of them. General Davidson was the last of the enemy who remained upon the bank, and in mounting his horse to make his escape, received a mortal wound.

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In effecting this difficult and dangerous passage of the Catawba, in the face of the enemy, the whole loss of the guards amounted only to forty, lieutenant-colonel Hall*, and three privates, being killed, and thirty-six wounded†. The other troops which composed lord Cornwallis's division of the army followed the guards in succession; and, as soon as the whole had landed, lieutenant colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry, and the twenty-third regiment, was sent in pursuit of the militia.

* Lieutenant-colonel Hall was killed in ascending the bank, after he had crossed the river.

† The following accidents happened to the horses of the general officers in passing the river:—Lord Cornwallis's horse was shot in the water, but did not drop till he reached the shore. General Leslie's horses were carried by the rapidity of the stream some distance down the river, until his groom got upon a rock and held them. Brigadier O'Hara's horse rolled over with him in the water: the brigadier, no doubt, was thoroughly wet from this accident, but received no other injury.

Upon

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1781.

Upon his march, receiving intelligence that the place appointed for their rendezvous was at Tarlant's Tavern, about ten miles distant, he left behind the twenty-third regiment, which took post about five miles from Beattie's Ford, and for the sake of dispatch, proceeded with the cavalry only. About five hundred of the militia, from different fords, were assembled, when he reached the place of their rendezvous, and appeared not unprepared to receive him. Tarleton, nevertheless, resolved to attack them, and animating his men with a stinging recollection of the action at the Cowpens, made a furious charge upon the enemy, broke through their centre, killed near fifty† upon the spot, and quickly dispersed the whole. The gallantry of the guards in passing the broad river Catawba, in the face of the enemy, and the subsequent rout and dispersion of the militia, first at the ford, and afterwards by Tarleton, at Tarlant's Tavern, made such an impression on the inhabitants, that although the country between the Catawba and the Yadkin was deemed the most hostile part of North Carolina, the army in its progress to the last of these rivers met with no farther molestation from the militia.

General Greene had hoped, by guarding the fords with the light troops under Morgan, assisted by the militia, to prevent lord Cornwallis from passing, until the other division of the American army, under Huger and Williams, should have time to come up. But the British general, by forcing a passage in the manner already related, quickly put an end to his hopes. The guards stationed at the different fords were accordingly

† This is Tarleton's account, page 226 of his campaigns; but a British officer, who rode over the ground not long after the action, relates, that he did not see ten dead bodies of the provincials in the whole.

withdrawn;

withdrawn; and the light troops under Morgan began a precipitate retreat towards the Yadkin.

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The other division of the British army, under colonel Webster, passed the Catawba at Beattie's Ford, in the course of the day, and at night joined lord Cornwallis's division, about five miles from the ford, on the road to Salisbury. Early the next morning the British troops marched in pursuit of Morgan; but the celerity of his movements baffled all their efforts. He reached the trading ford on the Yadkin in the night between the second and third of February, and with the assistance of all the boats and flats that could be collected, completed the passage of his corps, with their baggage, by the following evening, except only a few waggons left under an escort of rifle-men. The rifle-men, after a slight resistance, fled under cover of the night, and their waggons were of course taken.

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Lord Cornwallis, joined by the other division of the army under colonel Webster, pursues general Morgan.

The American cavalry had passed by the ford of the river; but a heavy rain that fell during the day, rendered the river unfordable by the next morning: The same rain, by swelling the creeks, and increasing the badness of the roads, had also retarded general O'Hara on his march; and thus Morgan's detachment, from fortunate incidents, had another hairbreadth escape.

All the boats and flats having been secured by Morgan on the other side of the river, the river itself being unfordable, and continuing to rise, and the weather still appearing unsettled, lord Cornwallis determined to march up the western banks of the Yadkin, and pass by the shallow fords near its source. All hopes of preventing the junction of the two divisions of the American army were now at an end; but still another object, not less essential, remained, which the new line of direction of the march was calculated to favour.

This

CHAP. This was, to get between the American army and
 XLI. Virginia, to which province it was obvious general
 1781. Greene meant to retreat, rather than hazard
 an action with his present numbers. As much,
 therefore, as it was the interest of general Greene
 to secure his retreat, and avoid an action, so much
 was it that of the British commander to intercept
 him, and compel it, before he was joined by his
 reinforcements. The lower fords, upon the river
 that separates North Carolina from Virginia, were
 represented to be impassable in the winter season,
 and the ferries to be so distant that a sufficient
 number of flats could not be collected to trans-
 port the American army in any convenient time.
 Lord Cornwallis, misled by this information, di-
 rected his march to the upper fords upon the Dan,
 in order to intercept Greene's retreat, by the only
 route which at that season of the year was repre-
 sented to be practicable.

A junction
 formed be-
 tween the
 two divi-
 sions of the
 American
 army.

In the mean time the two divisions of the Ame-
 rican army formed a junction at Guildford Court-
 house. A council of war was held: And by
 their advice a retreat into Virginia, without ha-
 zarding an action, was finally resolved upon. In
 order the more easily to effect this, a light army
 was formed of the best of the American troops,
 amounting in the whole to about seven hundred
 men, who were directed to manœuvre in front of
 the British line of march, whilst the rest of the
 army, with the baggage, proceeded by the nearest
 route to Boyd's Ferry, on the Dan. Orders were
 sent forward to prepare every thing necessary for
 facilitating the passage, whilst general Greene
 marched on with all possible dispatch. At last he
 reached the Dan, and so much had lord Cornwal-
 lis been misinformed as to the means of passing
 the river, that the American troops, both the
 main and the light army, with their baggage, in-
 stead

stead of meeting with any difficulty or delay, were passed over with ease, at Boyd's and Irwin's Ferries, in the course of a single day, the fourteenth of February. The light army, which was the last in crossing, was so closely pursued, that scarcely had its rear landed, when the British advance appeared on the opposite banks; and in the last twenty-four hours it is said to have marched forty miles. The hardships suffered by the British troops, for want of their tents and usual baggage, in this long and rapid pursuit, through a wild and unsettled country, were uncommonly great; yet such was their ardour and service, that they submitted to them without a murmur, from the hope of giving a decisive blow to the American army, before it crossed the Roanoke. And that the latter escaped without suffering any material injury, seems more owing to a train of fortunate incidents, judiciously improved by their commander, than to any want of enterprise or activity in the army that pursued. Yet the operations of lord Cornwallis, during the pursuit, would probably have been more efficacious, had not the unfortunate affair at the Cowpens deprived him of almost the whole of his light troops.

Lord Cornwallis having thus driven general Greene out of the province of North Carolina, returned by easy marches from the banks of the Dan to Hillsborough, where he erected the king's standard, and invited by proclamation all loyal subjects to repair to it, and take an active part in assisting him to restore order and constitutional government. The loyalists in North Carolina were originally more numerous than in any of the other colonies: But the misfortunes consequent on premature risings had considerably thinned them. Some had suffered, others had left

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General
Greene driven out of
North Carolina.The royal
standard
erected at
Hillsborough.

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General
Greene,
again cross-
ing the Dan,
re-enters
North Ca-
rolina.

the country and joined the king's troops to the southward, and those who remained were become cautious from the recollection of past mis-carriages. Their spirits may be said to have been broken by repeated persecutions. Still, however, the zeal of some was not repressed; and, influenced by them, considerable numbers were preparing to assemble, when general Greene, alarmed with the intelligence of their motions, and the presumed effect of lord Cornwallis's proclamation, and being, about the same time, reinforced with six hundred Virginia militia, under general Stevens, took the resolution of again crossing the Dan, and re-entering North Carolina. Even with this addition to his numbers, he had no intention of hazarding an action; but he foresaw that his return into the province would check the rising spirit amongst the royalists; and he hoped, by means of his light troops, to interrupt their communications with the royal army. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, was detached across the river on the twenty-first of February, and the next day general Greene passed it with the rest of the army.

A number of loyalists being ready to assemble, under a colonel Pyle, upon the branches of Haw River, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry, and a small body of infantry, was detached towards that part of the country, to give countenance to their rising, and to afford them assistance and protection. The American colonel Lee, having also received intelligence of the proposed insurrection, hastened with his legion towards the same quarter, in order to counteract Tarleton's operations, and, if possible, intercept and crush the loyalists before their junction with the British troops. The loyalists assembled, and on the twenty-fifth of February were proceeding to

to Tarleton's encampment, unapprehensive of danger, when they were met in a lane by Lee, with his legion. The loyalists, unfortunately mistaking the American cavalry for Tarleton's dragoons, allowed themselves to be surrounded before they discovered their error. When at last it became manifest, they called out for quarter; but no quarter was granted; and between two and three hundred of them were inhumanly butchered, while in the act of begging for mercy. Humanity shudders at the recital of so foul a massacre: But cold and unfeeling policy avows it as the most effectual means of intimidating the friends of royal government.

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The country round Hillsborough being nearly exhausted of provisions, and this forward position being thought too distant, after the return of general Greene's army, for affording effectual protection to the great body of loyalists who resided between Haw and Deep Rivers, lord Cornwallis thought it expedient to retire from Hillsborough, and take a new position between these rivers, so as effectually to cover the country in his rear. This was accordingly done; and the British army, after passing Haw River, encamped on Allamance Creek. The bulk of mankind being guided by external appearances, nothing could be more unfavourable to lord Cornwallis's present views than this retrograde movement upon the approach of general Greene's army. If the loyalists were before cautious and slow, they now became timid to an excess, and dreaded taking any active measure whatsoever in behalf of the king's government, more especially when they reflected on the disaster that had happened to colonel Pyle, whose detachment was cut to pieces within little more than a mile of Tarleton's encampment. When lord Cornwallis, therefore, had retired beyond the

Lord Cornwallis falls back from Hillsborough, and takes a new position.

Effects of this retrograde movement.

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Haw, he had too much reason to complain that he found himself amongst irresolute friends, and adjoining to inveterate enemies; and that between the two he was so destitute of information that he had lost a very favourable opportunity of attacking the American army.

It has been already stated that lord Cornwallis hoisted the royal standard, and issued a proclamation, at Hillsborough. As much has been said upon this subject, as to lord Cornwallis's leaving Hillsborough before the period stated in his proclamation had expired, and of the consequent distress of the loyalists, the author, who had the honour of being commissary to the army under his lordship's command, not wishing to shrink from any responsibility annexed to his situation, feels it incumbent on him here to state a few facts. The author ever believed, and is well founded in his assertion, that one principal cause of lord Cornwallis leaving Hillsborough so soon as he did, was in consequence of a written report being made by the author, as well as from several conversations held with lord Cornwallis upon the subject, stating the impossibility of supporting his majesty's army at Hillsborough. There being few cattle to be had in its neighbourhood, and those principally draught oxen, lord Cornwallis had promised that they should not be slaughtered but in case of absolute necessity; but that necessity did exist, and compelled the author to direct that several of the draught oxen should be killed. This measure, although the effect of necessity, caused much murmuring amongst the loyalists, whose property these cattle were. Most of the cattle in the neighbourhood of Hillsborough had been consumed by the Americans, who held a post for a very considerable time in that town.

During

During the time the royal army held Hillsborough, the author's cattle-drivers were obliged to go a considerable distance from the army for cattle, and even then brought in but a very scanty supply. Lord Cornwallis could not have remained as long as he did at Hillsborough had it not been for a quantity of salt beef, pork, and some hogs, found in the town. Such was the situation of the British army, that the author, with a file of men, was obliged to go from house to house, throughout the town, to take provisions from the inhabitants, many of whom were greatly distressed by this measure, which could be justified only by extreme necessity.

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As lord Cornwallis retired, the American army advanced; and general Greene having passed the Haw, near its source, took post between Trouble-some Creek and Reedy Fork; but not thinking himself yet strong enough to risque an action, he changed his position every night, in order to avoid the possibility of it. The American light troops and militia were posted upon the branches of Reedy Fork, whilst general Greene, with the main army, at some distance, inclined towards Guildford Court-house. Whilst the American army lay in this situation, lord Cornwallis, receiving intelligence that their light troops were carelessly posted, determined to beat up their quarters, and compel them to retire to a greater distance; being at the same time in hopes, if general Greene should move to their assistance, that a favourable opportunity might offer for attacking him to advantage. Accordingly, early in the morning of the sixth of March, the British army passed Allamance Creek, and marched towards Reedy Fork. Fortunately for the American light troops, they received information of the march of the British army, whilst it was yet at some distance, and hastily

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hastily calling in their detachments, retired across Reedy Fork. At Wetzell's Mill, upon that creek, they attempted to make a stand, but were quickly dislodged with considerable slaughter by the brigade under lieutenant-colonel Webster. Greene, instead of marching to their assistance, upon receiving intelligence of the advance of the British army, retreated over the Haw, in order to preserve his communication with the roads, by which he expected his supplies and reinforcements. These were now fast approaching; and in a few days he was joined by another brigade of militia from Virginia under general Lawson, two from North Carolina, under generals Butler and Eaton, and a considerable detachment of regulars raised for eighteen months. He had also been joined, since his last return into North Carolina, by the militia from the frontiers under colonels Campbell and Preston; so that his numbers at this time probably exceeded five thousand men.

General Greene, thus powerfully reinforced, knowing that the time of service of the militia would soon expire, determined to avail himself of his present strength by offering battle to lord Cornwallis. Accordingly he again advanced, and, repassing the Haw, moved forward to Guilford Court-house, within twelve miles of the British army, which since his last retreat, had taken a new position at the Quakers' Meeting-house in the Forks of Deep River.

The near approach of general Greene, and all his other movements, since he was joined by his reinforcements, indicating an intention of no longer avoiding an action, lord Cornwallis embraced with much satisfaction the proffered opportunity of giving him battle. On the evening of the fourteenth of March, the baggage was sent off to Bell's Mill, upon Deep River, escorted by lieutenant-

nant-colonel Hamilton, with his own regiment, one hundred infantry of the line, and twenty of Tarleton's cavalry; and, at dawn the next morning, the rest of the army was put in motion towards Guildford Court house. About four miles from Guildford the advanced guards of both armies met, and a sharp conflict ensued, which was well supported on both sides. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton commanded the British advance, which consisted of the cavalry, the light infantry of the guards, and the yagers; that of the Americans was commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lee, and was composed of his legion, with some mountaineers and Virginia militia. Lee behaved with great bravery, and maintained his ground with firmness, until the appearance of the twenty-third regiment, advancing to support Tarleton, obliged the Americans to retire with precipitation. During the skirmish general Greene drew up his army on very commanding ground, in order of battle, which consisted of three lines. The two brigades of North Carolina militia, posted behind a fence in the skirt of a wood, with open ground in front of their centre, and their two flanks extending into the woods, composed his first line: The Virginian militia, under Stevens and Lawson, formed the second line, and were posted entirely in the wood, about three hundred yards in the rear of the first: Two brigades of continental troops formed the third line, and were drawn up chiefly in open ground near Guildford Court-house, about four hundred yards in the rear of the Virginia militia. Colonel Washington, with the dragoons of the first and third regiment, a detachment of continental light infantry, and a regiment of rifle-men under colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation for the security of the right

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Action near
Guildford,
between
lord Corn-
wallis and
general
Greene.

CHAP. right flank; and Lee, with his legion, a detach-
 XLI. ment of light infantry, and a corps of rifle-men,
 1781. was appointed to the same service on the left.

As soon as the head of the British column appeared in sight of the first line of the Americans, a cannonade was begun from two six-pounders, posted upon the road in their centre, which was immediately answered by the royal artillery under lieutenant Macleod; and, whilst this cannonade continued, the British commander, with the utmost dispatch, made his disposition for the attack, which was in the following order: The seventy-first regiment, with the regiment of Bose, led by general Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of the guards, under colonel Norton, formed the right of the British line; and the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, led by lieutenant-colonel Webster, and supported by brigadier general O'Hara, with the grenadier and second battalion of the guards, formed the left. The light infantry of the guards, with the yagers, posted on the left of the artillery, and the cavalry in column behind it on the road, formed a corps of observation.

This disposition being made, the line received orders to advance, and moved forward with that steady and guarded, but firm and determined, resolution which discipline alone can confer. It has been remarked by an eye witness*, that "the order and coolness of that part of Webster's brigade which advanced across the open ground, exposed to the enemy's fire, could not be sufficiently extolled." At the distance of one hundred and forty yards they received the enemy's first fire, but continued to advance unmoved. When arrived at a nearer and more convenient distance, they delivered their own fire, and rapid-

* Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, p. 273 of his Campaigns.

ly charged with their bayonets: The enemy did not wait the shock, but retreated behind their second line. In other parts of the line the British troops behaved with equal gallantry, and were not less successful. The second line of the enemy made a braver and stouter resistance than the first. Posted in the woods, and covering themselves with trees, they kept up for a considerable time a galling fire, which did great execution. At length, however, they were compelled to retreat, and fall back upon the continentals. In this severe conflict the whole of the British infantry were engaged: General Leslie, from the great extent of the enemy's front, reaching far beyond his right, had been very early obliged to bring forward the first battalion of the guards, appointed for his reserve, and form it into line: And lieutenant colonel Webster, finding the left of the thirty-third regiment exposed to a heavy fire from the right wing of the enemy, which greatly out flanked him, changed its front to the left; and the ground become vacant by this movement was immediately occupied by general O'Hara, with the grenadiers, and second battalion of the guards. Webster, moving to the left with the thirty-third regiment, supported by the light-infantry of the guards, and the yagers, routed and put to flight the right wing of the enemy, and in his progress, after two severe struggles, gained the right of the continentals; but the superiority of their numbers, and the weight of their fire, obliged him, separated as he was from the rest of the British line, to re-cross a ravine, and occupy an advantageous position on the opposite bank, until he could hear of the progress of the king's troops on the right. The British line, being so much extended to the right and left, in order to shew a front equal to the enemy, was unavoidably broken into intervals in
the

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CHAP. the pursuit of the first and second American lines ;
XLI. some parts of it being more advanced than others,
1781. in consequence of the different degrees of resistance that had been met with, or of other impediments arising from the thickness of the woods, and the inequality of the ground. The whole, however, still moved forward ; and the second battalion of the guards, commanded by the honourable lieutenant-colonel Stuart, was the first that reached the open ground at Guildford Courthouse. Impatient to signalize themselves, they immediately attacked a body of continentals, greatly superior in number, that was seen formed on the left of the road, routed them and took their cannon, being two six-pounders ; but pursuing them with too much ardour and impetuosity towards the wood in their rear, were thrown into confusion by a heavy fire received from a body of continentals, who were yet unbroken, and being instantly charged by Washington's dragoons, were driven back with great slaughter, and the loss of the cannon that had been taken. Lieutenant Macleod, advancing along the road with the royal artillery, had by this time reached the open ground. By a spirited and well-directed cannonade he checked the pursuit of the Americans. Fortunately also, the seventy-first regiment, belonging to general Leslie's division, was seen emerging from the woods on the right, and the twenty-third, not long afterwards, made its appearance on the left. To the right and left of these regiments, general O'Hara, although severely wounded, rallied with much gallantry and great expedition, the remains of the second battalion of the guards ; and the Americans were quickly repulsed and put to flight, with once more the loss of the two six-pounders : Two other six-pounders were also taken, being all the artillery which they had in the field,

field, and two ammunition waggons. The seventy-first pushed forward to an eminence at the Court-house, on the left flank of the continentals. Lieutenant-colonel Webster again advanced across the ravine, defeated the corps that was opposed to him, and connected himself with the centre of the British line. The continentals of the American army being now driven from their ground, as well as the militia, a general retreat took place; but it was conducted with order and regularity. The twenty-third and seventy-first regiments, with part of the cavalry, were at first sent in pursuit of the enemy, but afterwards received orders to return. It is probable that, as the British commander became more acquainted with all the circumstances of the action, and the number of the killed and wounded, he found it necessary to countermand his orders, and desist from the pursuit. The action being now ended in the centre and on the left of the British line, a firing was still heard on the right, where general Leslie, with the first battalion of the guards, and the regiment of Bose, had been greatly impeded in advancing by the excessive thickness of the woods, which rendered their bayonets of little use. The broken corps of the enemy were thereby encouraged to make frequent stands, and to throw in an irregular fire; so that this part of the British line was at times warmly engaged in front, flank, and rear, with some of the enemy that had been routed in the first attack, and with part of the extremity of their left wing, which, by the closeness of the woods, had been passed unseen.

At one period of the action the first battalion of the guards was completely broken. It had suffered greatly in ascending a woody height to attack the second line of the Americans, strongly posted upon the top of it, who, availing themselves of the advantages

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advantages of their situation, retired, as soon as they had discharged their pieces, behind the brow of the hill, which protected them from the shot of the guards, and returned, as soon as they had loaded, and were again in readiness to fire. Notwithstanding the disadvantage under which the attack was made, the guards reached the summit of the eminence, and put this part of the American line to flight: But no sooner was it done, than another line of the Americans presented itself to view, extending far beyond the right of the guards, and inclining towards their flank, so as almost to encompass them. The ranks of the guards had been thinned in ascending the height, and a number of the officers had fallen: Captain Maitland, who at this time received a wound, retired to the rear, and having had his wound dressed, returned immediately to join the battalion of guards to which he belonged. Some of the men, too, from superior exertions, had reached the summit of the eminence sooner than others; so that the battalion was not in regular order when it received the fire of the third American line. The enemy's fire being repeated and continued, and, from the great extent of their line, being poured in not only on the front but flank of the battalion, completed its confusion and disorder, and, notwithstanding every exertion made by the remaining officers, it was at last entirely broken. Fortunately, at this time, the Hessian regiment of Bose, commanded by lieutenant-colonel de Buiy, which had hitherto suffered but little, was advancing in firm and compact order on the left of the guards, to attack the enemy. Lieutenant-colonel Norton thought the fortunate arrival of the regiment of Bose presented a favourable opportunity for forming again his battalion, and requested the Hessian lieutenant-colonel to wheel his regiment to the right,

right, and cover the guards, whilst their officers endeavoured to rally them. The request was immediately and most gallantly complied with; and, under the cover of the fire of the Hessians, the exertions of lieutenant-colonel Norton, and his few remaining officers, were at last successful in restoring order. The battalion, being again formed, instantly moved forward to join the Hessians: The attack was renewed, and the enemy were defeated. But here the labours of this part of the line did not yet cease. No sooner had the guards and Hessians defeated the enemy in front, than they found it necessary to return and attack another body of them that appeared in the rear; and in this manner were they obliged to traverse the same ground in various directions, before the enemy were completely put to the rout. The firing heard on the right, after the termination of the action in the centre, and on the left, induced lord Cornwallis to detach Tarleton, with part of the cavalry, to gain intelligence of what was doing in that quarter, and to know whether general Leslie wanted assistance. But before Tarleton's arrival on the right, the affair was over, and the British troops were standing with ordered arms; all resistance having ceased on the part of the Americans, except from a few hardy rifle-men, who, lurking behind trees, occasionally fired their pieces, but at such a distance as to do no mischief. These Tarleton, when requested, readily undertook to disperse with his cavalry, and rushing forward under cover of a general volley of musquetry from the guards and the regiment of Bose, quickly performed what was expected of him. In this affair Tarleton himself received a slight wound, but the rest of his corps returned unhurt. Thus ended the hard-fought action at Guildford Courthouse.

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In

CHAP. In this battle the British troops obtained a victory most honourable and glorious to themselves, but in its consequences of no real advantage to the cause in which they were engaged. They attacked and defeated an army of more than three times their own number*, not taken by surprise, but formed in regular order of battle and ready to engage; an army too, that is allowed on all hands to have been strongly and judiciously posted, on ground chosen with care, and most excellently adapted to the nature of the troops that occupied it. The resistance of the enemy was in proportion to the advantages they possessed; nor did they yield but with extreme reluctance. Even the militia, encouraged by their position, fought with bravery, and greatly weakened the British line before it reached the continentals. The Virginia militia, who composed the second American line, did not quit their ground, it is said, until their commander, seeing them no longer able to withstand the attack of regular troops, and ready to be overpowered, gave orders for a retreat. A victory achieved under such disadvantages of numbers and ground, was of the most honourable kind, and placed the bravery and discipline of the troops beyond all praise; but the expence at which it was obtained rendered it of no utility.

* By the return of the adjutant of the day it appears that the British troops engaged in the action amounted to 1445. The cavalry are not included in this return, and indeed they were not engaged, except for an instant on the right, after the action in the centre and on the left was over. The Americans were generally supposed to amount to 7000 men, and a letter, found in the pocket of one of their serjeants that was slain, specifies 7000 to be the number of their army: But Gordon, in his History, who appears to have taken their numbers from official documents, states them to be 1490 continentals, and 2753 militia; in all, 4243 foot soldiers and 200 cavalry. But he seems not to have included the back woodsmen under Campbell and Preston; so that their whole number probably exceeded 7000 men.

Before

Before the provincials finally retreated, more than one third of all the British troops engaged had fallen. The whole loss, according to the official returns, amounted to five hundred and thirty-two: Of these, ninety-three were killed in the action, four hundred and thirteen were wounded, and twenty-six missing. Amongst the killed were the honourable lieutenant-colonel Stuart of the guards, lieutenant O'Hara of the royal artillery, brother of the brigadier, lieutenant Robinson of the twenty-third regiment, ensign Talbot of the thirty-third, and ensign Grant of the seventy-first; and amongst the wounded brigadiers-general O'Hara and Howard; lieutenant-colonels Webster and Tarleton; captains Swanton, Schutz, Maynard, Goodricke, lord Dunglass, Maitland, Peter, Wil-mousky, and Eichenbrodht; lieutenants Salvin, Winyard, Schwener, and Graise; ensigns Stuart, Kelly, Gore, Hughes, and De Troot; and adjutants Colquhoun and Fox.

The loss of the Americans in this action has been variously estimated, and does not appear ever to have been fully ascertained. If we are to credit their official returns, their whole loss in killed and wounded, as well of militia as continentals, did not exceed two hundred and fifty men. But, by lord Cornwallis's dispatches, it appears that between two and three hundred of their dead were found upon the field after the action; and if we proportion their wounded according to the number of the slain, their whole loss in killed and wounded must have greatly exceeded that of the British troops. The number of those who were missing, according to their own returns, was confessedly great; but as the British troops took but few prisoners, it is probable that the greatest part of the missing consisted of militia, who, escaping
from

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 XLI. not afterwards return.

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The wounded of both armies were collected by the British as expeditiously as possible after the action: It was, however, a service that required both time and care, as from the nature of the action they lay dispersed over a great extent of ground. Every assistance was furnished to them, that in the present circumstances of the army could be afforded; but, unfortunately the army was destitute of tents, nor was there a sufficient number of houses near the field of battle to receive the wounded. The British army had marched several miles on the morning of the day on which they came to action. They had no provisions of any kind whatever on that day, nor until between three and four in the afternoon of the succeeding day, and then but a scanty allowance, not exceeding one quarter of a pound of

* We shall here relate an anecdote respecting the late captain Maynard of the guards. He was naturally of a cheerful disposition and great hilarity, and in several actions, during the course of the war, he had shewn great gallantry; but a certain presentiment of his fate on the day of the action at Guildford possessed his mind, which presentiment was too fatally realized. While the troops were marching on to form the line of battle, he became gloomy, and gave way to despondency. Not less than two or three different times did he tell colonel Norton, who commanded the battalion, that he felt himself very uncomfortable, and did not like the business at all. Colonel, now the honourable major-general, Norton, endeavoured to laugh him out of his melancholy ideas, but in vain; for even after the cannonade began he reiterated the forebodings of what he conceived was to happen. Early in the action he received a wound in the leg; unable to proceed, he requested Mr. Wilson, the adjutant of the guards, to lend him his horse, that he might ride on with the battalion, and when in the act of mounting, another shot went through his lungs, and incapacitated him from proceeding. After being conveyed in a litter to Wilmington, and then lingering a few days, he died of his wounds, greatly regretted.

flower,

flower, and the same quantity of very lean beef. CHAP.
 The night of the day on which the action happened was remarkable for its darkness, accompanied
 with rain, which fell in torrents. Near fifty of
 the wounded, it is said, sinking under their ag-
 gravated miseries, expired before the morning.—
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The cries of the wounded and dying who remained on the field of action during the night exceed all description. Such a complicated scene of horror and distress, it is hoped, for the sake of humanity, rarely occurs, even in a military life. Had lord Cornwallis had with him at the action at Guildford Court-house, those troops that were lost by colonel Tarleton at the Cowpens, on the fifteenth of March 1781, it is not extravagant to suppose that the American colonies might have been reunited to the empire of Great Britain.

History, perhaps, does not furnish an instance of a battle gained under all the disadvantages which the British troops, assisted by a regiment of Hessians and some vagers, had to contend against at Guildford Court-house. Nor is there, perhaps, on the records of history, an instance of a battle fought with more determined perseverance than was shewn by the British troops on that memorable day. The battles of Crecy, of Poitiers, and of Agincourt, the glory of our own country, and the admiration of ages, had in each of them, either from particular local situation, or other fortunate and favourable circumstances, something in a degree to counterbalance the disparity of numbers: Here time, place, and numbers, all united against the British. The American general had chosen his ground, which was strong, commanding, and advantageous; he had time not only to make his disposition, but to send away
 his

CHAP. his baggage, and every incumbrance. His can-
 XLI. non and his troops, in numbers far exceeding the
 1781. British, were drawn out in readiness to commence
 the action, when lord Cornwallis approached to
 attack him.

General Greene, after passing Reedy Fork
 Creek, three miles from the field of action, halted
 for some little time on the other side to collect
 his stragglers, and then retreated to the iron works
 on Troublesome Creek, about twelve miles farther.
 When the extent of the British loss was fully as-
 certained, it became too apparent that lord Corn-
 wallis was not in a condition either to give imme-
 diate pursuit, or to follow the blow the day after
 the action. Added to its other distresses, the ar-
 my was almost destitute of provisions: Under
 such circumstances, although a victory had been
 gained, a retreat became necessary towards that
 quarter from whence supplies could be obtained.
 About seventy of the wounded, not in a condi-
 tion to travel, were left at the Quakers' Meeting-
 house, under the protection of a flag of truce;
 and on the third day after the action, lord Corn-
 wallis began to retire, by easy marches, towards
 Cross Creek*.

* Lord Cornwallis was greatly disappointed in his expectati-
 ons of being joined by the loyalists. Some of them indeed came
 within the lines, but they remained only a few days — I shall
 here relate an anecdote connected with this subject, and in itself
 not a little interesting: The commissary, who considered it as
 his duty not only to furnish provisions to the army, but also to
 learn the disposition of the inhabitants, fell in about this time
 with a very sensible man, a Quaker, who, being interrogated as
 to the state of the country, replied, That it was the general wish
 of the people to be reunited to Britain; but that they had been
 so often deceived in promises of support, and the British had so
 often

often relinquished posts, that the people were now afraid to join the British army, lest they should leave the province, in which case the resentment of the revolutioners would be exercised with more cruelty; that although the men might escape, or go with the army, yet, such was the diabolical conduct of those people, that they would inflict the severest punishment upon their families. "Perhaps," said the Quaker, "thou art not acquainted with the conduct of thy enemies towards those who wish well to the cause thou art engaged in. There are some who have lived for two, and even three years in the woods, without daring to go to their houses; but have been secretly supported by their families. Others, having walked out of their houses, under a promise of being safe, have proceeded but a few yards before they have been shot. Others have been tied to a tree, and severely whipped. I will tell thee of one instance of cruelty: A party surrounded the house of a loyalist; a few entered; the man and his wife were in bed; the husband was shot dead by the side of his wife." The writer of this replied, that those circumstances were horrid; but under what government could they be so happy as when enjoying the privileges of Englishmen? "True," said the Quaker, "but the people have experienced such distress, that I believe they would submit to any government in the world to obtain peace." The commissary, finding the gentleman to be a very sensible, intelligent man, took great pains to find out his character. Upon enquiry, he proved to be a man of the most irreproachable manners, and well known to some gentlemen of North Carolina, then in our army, and whose veracity was undoubted. But a few days after this, the army had a strong proof of the truth of what Mr. ———, who still resides in North Carolina, and for that reason must not be mentioned by name, had said. The day before the British army reached Cross Creek, a man bent with age joined it: He had scarcely the appearance of being human; he wore the skin of a racoon for a hat, his beard was some inches long, and he was so thin, that he looked as if he had made his escape from Surgeon's-hall. He wore no shirt, his whole dress being skins of different animals. On the morning after, when this distressed man came to draw his provisions, Mr. Brice, the deputy muster-master-general of the provincial forces, and the commissary, asked him several questions. He said, that he had lived for three years in the woods, under ground; that he had been frequently sought after by the Americans, and was certain of instant death whenever he should be taken; that he supported himself by what he got in the woods; that acorns served him as bread; that they had, from long use, become agreeable to

CHAP. him; that he had a family, some of whom, once or twice in a
XLI. year, came to him in the woods; that his only crime was being
a loyalist, and having given offence to one of the republican
1781. leaders in that part of the country where he used to live.

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Proclamation by Lord Cornwallis—The British Army arrives in the Vicinity of Wilmington—General Greene marches against Lord Rawdon at Camden—Embarrassment of Lord Cornwallis—Lord Cornwallis determines to march through North Carolina into Virginia—Lord Rawdon resolves to attack the Camp of General Greene at Hobkirk's Hill—Fort Watson surrenders to the Americans—A Detachment under Colonel Watson joins Lord Rawdon at Camden—Lord Rawdon, after various Efforts to bring General Greene to an Engagement, retires from Camden—and proceeds to Monk's Corner—British Outposts reduced by the Americans—Augusta surrendered to the Americans.

PREVIOUSLY to the departure of the army from Wynneshorough, lieutenant-colonel Balfour, who commanded at Charlestown, had been directed to send round by water a competent force to take possession of Wilmington in North Carolina, and occupy it as a post with which lord Cornwallis, in his progress to the northward, might open a communication, for the purpose of obtaining supplies. Major Craig, who was detached on this service, took possession of Wilmington, after a slight resistance from the enemy, about the end of January; and although his force was small, by great labour and perseverance he fortified his post in a short time, so as to secure

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secure it against insult, and by some successful excursions into the country had made himself respected. As Wilmington lies near the mouth of Cape Fear River, and the settlement of Cross Creek is upon a branch of the same river, about one hundred miles higher up the country, lord Cornwallis hoped, that by marching to the last of these places, where there was a friendly settlement of highlanders, the army would be plentifully furnished with provisions, the sick and wounded with refreshments proper for them, and that, by means of the river, a communication might be easily opened with major Craig, for obtaining such other supplies as the country did not afford, but which the army was now greatly in want of. To these considerations, another of some importance must also be added, that Cross Creek was a central situation for the junction of such friends of government as would be willing to stand forth and assist in suppressing rebellion; who would have time to make their arrangements for that purpose, whilst the army halted for the recovery of the wounded. Impressed with such sentiments, and still hoping to rouse the loyalists to action, lord Cornwallis, on the same day on which he began his march from Guildford Court-house, issued a proclamation, reciting his victory, calling upon all loyal subjects to stand forth and assist in restoring order and good government, and promising protection in their persons and properties to all those who had taken part in the revolt (murderers excepted), who should be desirous of returning to their allegiance, and should actually surrender themselves, with their arms and ammunition, on or before the twentieth of April, with permission to return to their houses, upon taking a military parole, and a promise of speedy restoration

Proclamation by
lord Cornwallis.

ration to all the privileges of legal and constitutional government.

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Lord Cornwallis, having issued his proclamation, proceeded slowly towards Cross Creek, as well for the convenience of the wounded, as the more easy subsistence of the troops, where he arrived about the end of the month. General Greene followed through the same tract of country as far as Ramsay's Mill, on Deep River: And occasional skirmishes happened between the light troops, but nothing of moment between the two armies.

Upon the arrival of the British commander at Cross Creek, he found himself disappointed in all his expectations: Provisions were scarce: Four days forage not to be procured within twenty miles; and the communication expected to be opened between Cross Creek and Wilmington, by means of the river, was found to be impracticable, the river itself being narrow, its banks high, and the inhabitants, on both sides, for a considerable distance, inveterately hostile. Nothing therefore now remained to be done but to proceed with the army to Wilmington, in the vicinity of which it arrived on the seventh of April. The settlers upon Cross Creek, although they had undergone a variety of persecutions in consequence of their previous unfortunate insurrections, still retained a warm attachment to their mother-country, and during the short stay of the army amongst them, all the provisions and spirits that could be collected within a convenient distance, were readily brought in, and the sick and wounded plentifully supplied with useful and comfortable refreshments.

The British
army ar-
rives in
the vicinity
of Wil-
mington.

During the march of the British army to Wilmington, colonel Webster of the thirty-third, captains Schutz and Maynard of the guards, and
captain

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captain Wilmouski and ensign de Trott of the regiment of Bose, all of them officers of merit, died of the wounds received at Guildford Courthouse. The first is said to have "united all the virtues of civil life to the gallantry and professional knowledge of a soldier*." So amiable and distinguished a character could not fail to be universally respected, and his death was lamented by the whole army†.

Lord Cornwallis being under the necessity of repairing to a sea-port town, to obtain necessary

* Tarleton, p. 281.

† The sympathetic manner in which lord Cornwallis communicated to the reverend Dr. Webster, of Edinburgh, the intelligence of his son's death, is at once a proof of his lordship's goodness of heart, his tender sensibility, and of the high estimation in which he held the deceased. The following is a Copy of his Letter on that occasion :

"DEAR SIR, *Wilmington, April, 23, 1781.*

"IT gives me great concern to undertake a task which is not only a bitter renewal of my own grief, but must be a violent shock to an affectionate parent.

"You have for your support, the assistance of religion, good sense, and the experience of the uncertainty of human happiness. You have for your satisfaction, that your son fell nobly in the cause of his country, honoured and lamented by all his fellow-foldiers ; that he led a life of honour and virtue, which must secure him everlasting happiness. When the keen sensibility of the passions begins to subside, these considerations will give you real comfort.

"That the Almighty may give you fortitude to bear this severest of trials, is the earnest wish of your companion in affliction, and most faithful servant,

"CORNWALLIS."

supplies,

supplies, particularly shoes and cloathing for the army, was apprehensive lest general Greene should return to South Carolina. Accordingly, several messengers were dispatched to lord Rawdon at Camden, to prepare him for such an event; but unfortunately neither the messengers nor their dispatches ever reached the place of their destination.

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Not long after the arrival of earl Cornwallis at Wilmington, he received information that what he apprehended as probable had actually taken place; and that general Greene, upon his return to the upper country, had taken the direct road to Camden, and was marching with the utmost expedition to attack lord Rawdon. This intelligence rendered the situation of the British commander more embarrassing than ever, and left him only a choice of difficulties, none of which were unaccompanied with hazard, nor easy to be surmounted. It was undoubtedly his wish to afford succour to lord Rawdon; but he knew that it was impossible for him, after the progress already made by general Greene, to arrive in time. The fate of lord Rawdon and his garrison must be determined long before the British army could reach Camden; and, should general Greene be successful, there was danger that he might have it in his power to hem up his lordship while on his march between the great rivers, and, by cutting off his subsistence, render his arms useless. On the other hand, if general Greene should be defeated, the return of the British army would be less necessary. A measure pregnant with so much danger in the execution, and promising so little advantage in the result, was not to be hastily adopted: Yet something was necessary to be done. The effective force under his lordship, from sickness, desertion, and the loss sustained at Guildford Court-house,

General
Greene
marches
against
lord Raw-
don at
Camden.Embarrass-
ment of
lord Corn-
wallis.

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Lord Cornwallis determines to march through North Carolina into Virginia.

was now reduced to fourteen hundred and thirty-five men, a number which he considered as totally inadequate to acting offensively in North Carolina. To remain where he was would not only be useless, but, as the heat of summer increased, endanger the health of the troops. To return to South Carolina by land would be accompanied with the hazards already mentioned *; and to return by water would not only be disgraceful, but take up much time in waiting for the transports, and in the end probably be attended with the loss of all the cavalry and horses belonging to the army. Upon such a view of the subject, his lordship determined to take advantage of general Green's absence from North Carolina, to march through that province into Virginia, and join his force to a strong corps that had been acting there from the beginning of the year, first under brigadier-general Arnold, and afterwards under major-general Philips, in order to make a diversion in favour of the British operations in North Carolina. This movement, it was thought, might have a tendency to draw general Greene back to the northward, and it seems to have been more readily adopted, as it was the opinion of earl Cornwallis, that vigorous measures pursued in Virginia, and the reduction of that province, if practicable, would be the most effectual means of securing those

* At this time colonel Tarleton proposed to lord Cornwallis that he might be permitted to march back through the country to Charlestown with his cavalry; which proposition his lordship very judiciously rejected. Colonel Tarleton, in his publication has thought proper to censure lord Cornwallis for not returning to South Carolina, instead of going to Virginia. But colonel Tarleton, throughout his whole History, betrays great impatience to get rid of that burden of gratitude which was due to his lordship for past benefits conferred on him without any extraordinary degree of merit.

possessions

possessions that had been already recovered in the Southern colonies, and of subjecting such as remained to be subdued. Earl Cornwallis, having finally determined to proceed to Virginia, began his march from Wilmington on the twenty-fifth of April, where he had remained just eighteen days, to refresh and refit his army.

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Thus we find that the victory at Guildford drew after it some, and it will afterwards appear that it was followed by all the consequences of something nearly allied to a decisive defeat. He was not joined by the loyalists, who were still overawed by the republicans.

We must now attend the motions of general Greene, who, in the mean time, had entered South Carolina, and made his appearance before Camden. The amount of the force which he carried with him is very uncertain. The American accounts represent it to be nine hundred and thirty continental soldiers, and two hundred and fifty-four North Carolina militia; but we are well informed that general Greene had in the action above fifteen hundred continentals, and several corps of militia. The garrison at Camden, under lord Rawdon, amounted to something more than eight hundred men. Some well-affected militia, that came from a distance to offer their services in this season of danger, were necessarily, though reluctantly, dismissed, on account of a scarcity of provisions; but, by arming every person already in the garrison capable of bearing arms, even musicians and drummers, he mustered an effective force of about nine hundred men. General Greene, whatever his force might be, thought it insufficient for storming the British works, or even regularly investing them. After various changes of position he at length retired to Hobkirk's Hill, about two miles from the British

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Lord Raw-
don re-
solves to
attack the
camp of
general
Greene at
Hobkirk's
Hill.

British lines, and there encamped, with an intention, it was supposed, of waiting for the junction of colonel Lee with his legion, and Marion with his militia, who were then acting at some distance in the eastern parts of the province. Whilst the American army lay at Hobkirk's Hill, information was brought to Camden that general Greene had detached part of his militia to bring up his heavy baggage and cannon, which, for some cause or other, had been sent off some days before: And as Lee and Marion had not yet joined, lord Rawdon thought this the proper time for an attack, in the absence of the militia, and before the coming up of the cannon. Accordingly, at nine in the morning of the twenty-fifth of April, he marched out with all the force he could muster, and by making a circuit, and keeping close to the edge of a swamp, under cover of the woods, happily gained the left flank of the enemy undiscovered. In that quarter the American camp was the most affailable, because there the ascent of the hill was the easiest; but the impenetrable swamp that covered the approach to it had freed the enemy from all apprehensions of an attack on that side. In this fancied state of security, the driving in of their piquets gave them the first alarm of the advance of the British army, which moved on to the attack in the following order: The sixty-third regiment, supported by the volunteers of Ireland, formed the right; the king's American regiment, supported by captain Robertson's detachment, the left; and the New York volunteers the centre of the British line. The South Carolina regiment and the cavalry were in the rear of the whole, and formed a corps of observation.

The enemy, although apparently surprised, and at first in some confusion, formed with great expedition, and met the attack with resolution and
bravery.

bravery. Their first line consisted wholly of continental troops, the Virginia brigade being on the right, and the Maryland brigade on the left. Their artillery arrived just as the action began, and was posted in the centre. Their second line was formed entirely of militia. General Greene, after viewing the advance of the British troops, and the narrow front which they presented, was so confident of success, that, with a view of rendering it more complete, and hemming them in on every side, he made an alteration in his first disposition. The right of the Virginia, and the left of the Maryland brigades, were ordered to take the British troops in flank, whilst the remainder of these two brigades marched down the hill to attack them in front; and in the mean time lieutenant-colonel Washington, with the cavalry, was detached to fall upon their rear. Had these several attacks succeeded, undoubtedly nothing but ruin awaited the British army: But lord Rawdon, discovering the enemy's design, quickly extended his front, by bringing forward the Irish volunteers, and forming them into line. The Americans who descended the hill in front, although they fought for some time with great bravery, and were well supported by a destructive fire of grape-shot from their cannon, could not long withstand the impetuosity of the assailants. Being compelled to retire, they were pursued by the British troops to the top of the hill. Lord Rawdon having gained the summit of the eminence, and silenced the American cannon, which were immediately drawn off, was enabled to bring the remainder of his force into action, and at length put to rout the whole American army. The continentals several times rallied and returned to the charge, but were as often broke and put to flight. In the mean time Washington with his dragoons, having got
into

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into the rear of the British troops, had made a few stragglers prisoners, and exacted paroles from some British officers who lay wounded in the field. When the event of the day turned out different from his expectations, he was fortunate enough to discover it just in time to make good his retreat. Indeed, the Americans were so greatly superior in cavalry, that lord Rawdon, after ordering a pursuit, did not think fit to continue it farther than three miles. General Greene retreated to Rugeley's Mills, about twelve miles off, and there encamped. He was indebted to accident for the safety of his cannon: In the beginning of the retreat they were run down a steep, amongst some brush-wood, which concealed them from the British troops as they passed in the heat of pursuit; and before their return they were carried off by Washington's cavalry. According to accounts said to be taken from lord Rawdon's statement, the Americans lost in this action upwards of five hundred men: Of these about one hundred were made prisoners, and the rest either killed or wounded. But general Greene estimates his loss much lower: He makes it amount only to eighteen killed, one hundred and eight wounded, and one hundred and thirty-six missing; but at the same time admits, not without some degree of inconsistency, that some of the missing were killed, and others wounded. It was a hard-fought action; and the victory was not bloodless on the part of the conquerors: Although thirty-eight only were killed, their whole loss, including the wounded and missing, amounted to two hundred and fifty-eight, a number which, in the present perilous state of the province, could not be well spared. One officer only was amongst the slain; but eleven were wounded.

Had

Had lord Rawdon, instead of marching out to meet the enemy, remained in his works, such was the superiority of Greene, particularly in cavalry, that he must have reduced his lordship, in a short time, to the necessity of surrendering through want of provisions. The quick and marked decision with which he acted on this, as he had done on former occasions, formed a very general presage that he was one day to rank with the great military commanders; though so amiable a distinction is not to be attained without the happiest union of courage and genius. A military leader cannot be formed, like many other characters of respectability in the state, by mere experience in the common course of business. At the same time that he endeavours to controul accidents by general maxims and comprehensives views, he must vary his particular measures with the varying moment of action. In the midst of danger, and at a moment's warning, he must call to his aid all the results of his past experience and observations; banish from his mind every extraneous idea that fancy or casual association might suggest to distract his thoughts and mislead his judgment, and perceive, at a glance, the shortest and most effectual process for attaining his object.

Upon the approach of the American army, a very general spirit of revolt shewed itself amongst the inhabitants of South Carolina, particularly in the district of Ninety six, on the western frontier, and on the North-east in that tract of country which lies between the two great rivers Pedee and Santee. Even in Charlestown itself, many of the inhabitants, although awed and restrained by the presence of the garrison, gave evident signs of disaffection. In the most tranquil period of the province, Sumpter, on the north-west frontier, and Marion in the North-east, had kept alive the embers

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bers of revolt, which, although at different times variously agitated, in consequence of the restless disposition of those partisans, were nevertheless prevented from gaining strength by the ascendancy of the British arms; but they now burst forth into a flame, as soon as intelligence arrived that general Greene had entered the province. To encourage this spirit of revolt amongst the inhabitants, and to make a diversion in the north east part of the province in favour of the attempt upon Camden, general Greene had detached lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, from Deep River, to precede the army, and in conjunction with Marion, to attack some of the British posts. Lee marched with so much expedition, that a junction was formed between him and Marion on the fourteenth of April, and on the fifteenth, in pursuance of their orders, they appeared before Fort Watson, a British post on the Santee. Fort Watson is situated upon an eminence, about thirty feet above the level of the circumjacent plain. The eminence is an artificial mount, raised by the Indians before they were dispossessed of the country, and for some distance round it were no trees to shelter the approach of an enemy. The garrison was without artillery, and so were the besiegers: Neither had the latter intrenching tools to assist them in making approaches. But the ingenuity of a colonel Maham quickly devised a method of reducing the fort, as unexpected as it was efficacious. Under his direction a work upon an unusual plan was speedily constructed which overlooked the fort. Upon the top of this work American rifle-men were posted, who fired at every one in the garrison who ventured to make his appearance, and seldom missed their aim: Preparations being made at the same time for storming, the commanding officer made overtures for capitulating upon honourable terms.

These

These were readily granted: And Fort Watson CHAP. XLII.
was surrendered on the twenty-third of April.

After this exploit, Lee and Marion receiving intelligence that colonel Watson, with five hundred men, was on his march through that part of the country to reinforce lord Rawdon at Camden, took the resolution of endeavouring to obstruct his progress. They accordingly seized the passes upon the different creeks and rivers in his way, and guarded them so effectually, that he found himself under the necessity of returning down the Santee, and passing it near its mouth. By this interruption much time was lost, and many hardships were encountered in marching through the swamps and sunken grounds: Colonel Watson, however, persevered, and proceeding up the south side of the Santee, passed it again, a little below the confluence of its two great branches, the Congaree and Wateree, and arrived at Camden, with his detachment, on the seventh of May.

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Fort Watson
surrenders to the
Americans.

May.
A detachment under
colonel
Watson
joins lord
Rawdon at
Camden.

The victory at Hobkirk's Hill, like that at Guildford Court-house, although most honourable and glorious to the officers who commanded, and the troops that were engaged, produced no consequences beneficial to the British interest. The general disaffection of the province still continued; the force under general Greene, although diminished, was yet respectable; and the American partisans were more than ever active in making predatory incursions into various parts of the province, assaulting the weakest British posts, way-laying convoys of provision, and interrupting the communication between Camden and Charlestown. Lord Rawdon, therefore, even in the moment of success, saw the necessity of abandoning Camden, and contracting the British posts within a narrower compass. But as he was now joined by the reinforcement under Watson, which replaced the

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Lord Rawdon, after various efforts to bring general Greene to an engagement, retires from Camden; and proceeds to Monk's Corner.

loss of men sustained in the action, he gallantly resolved to make one effort more, before he evacuated his post, to strike a blow at general Greene, who, after remaining some days at Rugeley's Mills to collect his stragglers, passed the Wateree, and encamped behind Twenty-five Mile Creek. Lord Rawdon had good information of the nature of the ground where Greene was encamped, and thought that by making a circuit, and getting into his rear, an attack might be made with great prospect of success. Accordingly, with this view he marched from Camden in the night succeeding the day on which colonel Watson arrived. But general Greene had by this time decamped from Twenty-five Mile Creek. Having received information of the arrival of Watson's corps, and concluding that lord Rawdon, thus reinforced, would immediately attempt to strike at him, he changed his position for another at a greater distance, much stronger, and more easily defended. Intelligence of this movement being brought to lord Rawdon, while on his march, he proceeded along the direct road to general Greene's new encampment, where he arrived the next day. After driving in his piquets, and examining every point of his situation, he found it too strong to be attempted without suffering such a loss as could not be compensated by a victory. Under such circumstances, his lordship relinquished his design of attacking the American army, and on the same day returned to Camden. On the ninth of May such stores were destroyed as could not be removed, and on the tenth Camden was evacuated; lord Rawdon retreating by easy marches towards Nelson's Ferry, in order to give time to as many of the loyal inhabitants, as chose to accompany him, to carry off their effects and moveable property. The British army completed its passage at Nelson's Ferry, by the

the evening of the fourteenth, and from thence proceeded to Monk's Corner, for the greater security of Charlestown, the garrison of which, its works being at that time unfinished, was insufficient for its defence. In the mean time the enemy's detachment were too successful in reducing several of the British out-posts. Fort Motte, on the Congaree, after a brave defence, was surrendered to Lee and Marion, on the eleventh of May: About the same time, Sumpter possessed himself of Orangeburgh; and on the fifteenth Lee reduced Fort Granby.

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British out-
posts re-
duced by
the Ame-
ricans.

General Greene having so far succeeded in his views upon the north and north-east parts of South Carolina, and obliged lord Rawdon to retire to Monk's Corner, now turned his attention to the western frontier, and with equal facility hoped to reduce the British posts at Augusta in Georgia, and Ninety-six in South Carolina. Orders had been previously dispatched to colonel Pickens to assemble the militia of Ninety-six; and immediately after Lee's success at Fort Granby, he, with his legion, was detached to join Pickens, and lay siege to Augusta, whilst general Greene, with the main army, marched to invest Ninety-six. Lee having joined Pickens, their first attempt was against Fort Golphin, situated on the banks of the Savannah, some miles below Augusta, which was speedily reduced by a detachment from Lee's legion. The two commanders now advanced with their whole force against Fort Cornwallis, at Augusta, and began to make regular approaches, and invest it in form. At Augusta lieutenant-colonel Browne still commanded, and prepared to defend it with that spirit and resolution which he had manifested on a former occasion, when besieged by colonel Clarke. Although the works of the besiegers were pushed on with vigour, and

CHAP. XLII. 1781. their approaches made with judgment, no advantage was for a considerable time obtained over the vigilant and brave commander of the garrison. But at length the same mode of attack, the efficacy of which had been tried at Fort Watson, was here also adopted with success. Works were constructed of a sufficient height to overlook the fort, from whence rifle-men fired with such unerring aim, that the artillery men were either killed or driven from their guns; and none of the garrison could shew themselves without being shot down. Necessity, therefore, at last obliged colonel Browne to capitulate, and the fort, after a gallant defence, was surrendered on the fifth of June.

1 June.
Augusta
surrendered
to the Americans.

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State of the British Army at Ninety-six—The Siege of Ninety-six raised—Lord Rawdon, having arrived at Ninety-six, pursues General Greene—Lord Rawdon, with Half his Force, marches to the Congaree—Retires to Orangeburgh—Hostilities suspended by the intense Heat of the Season—Lord Rawdon, on account of his Health, embarks for Europe—Action between Colonel Stuart and General Greene, near the Eutaw Springs—Victory in this Action claimed by both Parties.

IN the mean time general Greene had laid CHAP. XLIII.
 siege to Ninety-six. Ninety-six took its name from being that number of miles distant from the town of Kecowee, in the Cherokee country, and, like other villages on the frontiers of the colonies, was originally surrounded with a stockade for the protection of the inhabitants against any sudden assault from the Indians. After it came into the possession of the British troops, in the year 1780, some other works were added, the principal of which, called, from its form, the Star, was on the right of the village. It was planned by lieutenant Haldane of the engineers, aid-du-camp to lord Cornwallis, and consisted of sixteen salient and re-entering angles, with a dry ditch, fraise, and abbatis: But the whole of the works were in an unfinished state at the commencement of the siege.

State of the
 British gar-
 rison at
 Ninety-six.

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When

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When lord Rawdon found himself under the necessity of evacuating Camden, and abandoning the upper country of South Carolina, he was well aware of the danger of Ninety-six, from the difficulty of sending succours to support a post at such a distance: Repeated expresses were therefore sent to lieutenant-colonel Cruger, who commanded the garrison, directing him to evacuate his post, retire to Augusta, and, after joining his force with that under colonel Browne, and taking the command of the whole, to act according to his discretion, and as circumstances should point out. In case these should fail, lord Rawdon had also taken the precaution of directing lieutenant-colonel Balfour to dispatch other messengers from Charlestown with the like orders. But so universal was the disaffection of the inhabitants of the country, and so well had they guarded all the roads and paths leading to Ninety-six, that not one of all the messengers arrived in safety. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger was therefore totally ignorant of the situation of the army under lord Rawdon; nor had he any information of the action at Hobkirk's Hill, and the subsequent evacuation of Camden, but from an American officer who happened to be made prisoner: But he knew well the disaffection of the province, and the inveterately hostile disposition of the inhabitants around him, and had also reason to apprehend an attack from the American army. In this state of uncertainty, with respect to the possibility of obtaining succours, and under such circumstances of apprehended danger, he thought it incumbent upon him to put his post in the best possible state of defence. The whole garrison was immediately set to work, the officers cheerfully sharing in the labour with the common soldiers; and by their united exertions a bank of earth parapet high was

was in a short time thrown up round the stockade; and the whole strengthened by an abbatis. Block-houses were also erected in the village, traverses made for the security of the troops, and caponiers or covered communications between different parts of the works. It has been already observed that a regular work called the Star defended the right of the village; and on the left of it was a valley, through which ran a rivulet that supplied the place with water. The country prison having been fortified, commanded the valley on one side, and a stockade that was erected on the left covered it on the other. But for the defence of all these works there were only three pieces of artillery, and even for these a scanty and insufficient supply of ammunition. The garrison itself was not numerous: It consisted of about one hundred and fifty men of the first battalion of Delancey's, and two hundred of the second battalion of New Jersey volunteers, both of them provincial regiments, and raised since the commencement of the war. But as they had been constantly employed in active service since the year 1776, they were at this time, for their number, perhaps equal to any troops. To these were added about two hundred loyal militia under a colonel King: And to their honour it is to be related, that although they had the British commander's permission to quit the garrison, and, being provided with good horses, might have effected their retreat either to Charlestown or Georgia, they nobly disdained to quit their post in the hour of danger, and turning their horses loose in the woods, determined to assist in the defence of the place, and abide the fate of the garrison. The British commander was induced to offer this permission both from motives of policy and humanity: He apprehended a scarcity of provisions, if the siege should

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should be spun out to any length; and from what had happened too often already, he had reason to fear, that, should the place ultimately fall, even the solemn engagements of a capitulation would not be sufficient to secure to the militia their stipulated rights, nor protect them against the vengeance of their countrymen.

Such was the state of the garrison at Ninety-six, and in this condition were the works, when the advance of the American army appeared in sight of it on the twenty-first of May. In the evening general Greene encamped his whole army in a wood within cannon-shot of the village, and in the night, as if he meant to intimidate the garrison by his boldness, two works were thrown up within seventy paces of the fortifications. Had he been acting against a raw and undisciplined militia, his temerity might have been excusable; but both the British commander and his garrison had seen too much service not to take advantage of so rash a proceeding, and to teach him to his cost to shew them a little more respect. By eleven in the morning of the twenty-second of May, a platform was prepared in one of the salient angles of the Star, opposite to the American works, for receiving the three pieces of artillery, and under cover of an incessant cannonade from them, and continued peals of musquetry from the parapet, a party of only thirty men sallied from the Star, entered the American works, and put to the bayonet every one they found. These were followed by another party from the loyal militia, who quickly demolished the works, and loaded several negroes with the intrenching tools of the Americans. Although general Greene put his whole army in motion to support his people in the trenches, the business was so expeditiously performed, that both the detachments returned within

within the fortifications without sustaining any other injury than the loss of the officer* who gallantly commanded the first party that sallied forth. To the regret of the whole garrison, he received a wound, of which he died the following night.

In the night of the twenty-third of May, the Americans again broke ground; but at the respectful distance of four hundred yards, and beyond a ravine. From this point they continued to make regular and guarded approaches; but worked so expeditiously, that although they were frequently interrupted by sallies from the garrison, they had completed their second parallel by the third of June. The adjutant-general of the American army was now sent to summon the British commander to surrender his post. He presented to the officer who received him, a paper signed by himself; displaying in pompous language the late successes of the Americans; declaring that the garrison had every thing to hope from their generosity, and to fear from their resentment; calling upon the commanding officer to surrender without delay; and threatening, if he persisted in a fruitless resistance, to make him personally responsible for all the consequences. In answer to a paper of so extraordinary a nature, not signed by general Greene, the British commander contented himself with directing a message to be delivered to the American adjutant-general, importing, that lieutenant-colonel Cruger was determined to defend his post to the last extremity, and that general Greene's promises and threats were alike indifferent to him.

* Lieutenant Roney of Delancey's second battalion.

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The American batteries were now opened from their second parallel, and a heavy cross fire commenced, which enfiladed several of the works. The enemy also pushed on a sap against the Star, and continued to advance their batteries, one of which, constructed of gabions, was erected within thirty-five yards of the abbatis, and raised forty feet high, so as to overlook the works of the garrison. Riflemen posted upon the top of it did considerable execution, and proved so inconvenient to those who worked the artillery, that the guns of the Star were necessarily unmanned during the day, and used only in the night. The garrison tried to burn the battery by firing heated shot, but, from the want of furnaces, did not succeed; and the only precaution which they could take against this destructive fire of the rifle-men, was to crown their parapets with sand-bags. Loop-holes were however left for the loyal militia to fire through; and with their rifles they also did considerable execution. An attempt was made by the enemy to set fire to the barracks by shooting African arrows: But the British commander frustrated their design by directing all the buildings to be unroofed, a measure from which both officers and men were exposed, during the remainder of the siege, to all the pernicious effects of the night-air: Nevertheless, such was their zeal for the service, and such their confidence in lieutenant colonel Cruger, that his order was obeyed with the utmost alacrity.

The garrison was now destined to have their feelings wounded by an exhibition which they were not prepared to expect. This was the contrivance of lieutenant-colonel Lee. When he joined the American army on the eighth of June, after the reduction of Augusta, he brought with him

him the British prisoners; and either to gratify his vanity, or for some other cause, hitherto unexplained, marched them past Ninety-six, in full view of the garrison, with all the parade of martial music, and preceded by a British standard reversed. If the intention was to discourage the garrison, it failed entirely of its effect, or rather produced an opposite one. Fired with indignation at a sight so unbecoming, they determined to encounter every danger, and endure every hardship, rather than fall into the hands of an enemy capable of disgracing their success by so wanton an insult offered to their prisoners.

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The American army, strengthened by the junction of the troops who had reduced Augusta, began to make approaches against the stockade fort on the left of the village, which kept open the communication with the water. The operations on this side were entrusted to lieutenant-colonel Lee, whilst general Greene continued to direct those against the Star. In the night of the ninth of June a sortie was made by two strong parties of the garrison. The party to the right entering the enemy's trenches, penetrated to a battery of four guns, which nothing but the want of spikes and hammers prevented them from destroying. Here they discovered the mouth of a mine intended to be carried under a curtain of the Star, and had nearly taken the chief engineer of the Americans, who happened to be viewing it at the time of the sortie. In making his escape he was wounded. The other division upon the left fell in with the covering party of the Americans, put a number of them to the bayonet, and made their commanding officer prisoner. Although lieutenant-colonel Lee broke ground at a respectful distance from the stockade on the left, and made his approaches with great caution, he nevertheless lost
a con-

CHAP. a considerable number of men. Chagrined with
 XLIII. his losses, and vexed at meeting with so much op-
 1781. position, he suffered his impatience, on the twelfth
 of June, to get the better of his discretion. At
 eleven in the forenoon he directed a serjeant and
 six men to advance with lighted combustibles, and
 set fire to the abbatis : The party advanced, and
 attempted to execute their orders, but not one of
 them returned. The garrison fired upon them,
 and the whole fell a sacrifice to the rashness of
 their commander, who was obliged to solicit a
 truce to bury the dead. When the cannon ar-
 rived from Augusta which this officer had directed
 to be sent after him, he redoubled his efforts ; and
 by the seventeenth of June the stockade fort was
 so completely enfiladed by a triangular fire, that,
 being no longer tenable, it was evacuated in the
 night, and without loss.

About this time the sufferings of the garrison be-
 gan to be extreme for want of water. A well had
 been dug in the Star with great labour, but no
 water was to be found ; nor was any to be pro-
 cured except from the rivulet on the left, within
 pistol-shot of the enemy. In the day nothing
 could be done : But in the night, naked negroes
 being sent out, whose bodies in the darkness were
 not distinguishable from the trees that surrounded
 them, with great hazard to themselves, brought
 in a scanty supply. That the defence of the place,
 under such circumstances of distress, could not be
 much longer protracted, appears obvious enough.
 But the British commander, even in this extre-
 mity, was not discouraged. He placed his confi-
 dence in the well-known zeal, activity, and enter-
 prise of lord Rawdon, who he did not doubt
 would come to his relief the moment he could
 do it with propriety, and in the mean time, un-
 der all his difficulties, he hoped to maintain his
 post

post until his arrival. Whilst the British commander was exerting himself to infuse similar sentiments into the garrison, and encouraging them to persevere, an American loyalist, in open day, under the fire of the enemy, having rode through their piquets and reached the village, delivered a verbal message from lord Rawdon, "that he had passed Orangeburgh, and was in full march to raise the siege." At such a crisis, the prospect of speedy relief dispelled the cloud from every brow: An unusual degree of animation succeeded: Their present distresses were no longer thought of; and the only object that occupied their minds, was the successful defence of the place until the joyful period of lord Rawdon's arrival.

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Although that officer, upon receiving intelligence of the siege of Ninety-six, felt the strongest inclination to relieve it, an object of still greater importance, the security of Charlestown in the present disaffected state of the country, demanded his first attention, and obliged him for some time to remain near the sea-coast. Fortunately, however, the arrival of three regiments from Ireland on the third of June, placed the one in a state of safety, and enabled him to march to the relief of the other. On the seventh of June he left Charlestown, taking with him the flank companies of the three newly-arrived regiments, and being joined by the troops from Monk's Corner, proceeded on his march with all the expedition that the heat of the weather, then beginning to be intense, would permit. The route he took inclined June. a little to the right of the direct road to Ninety-six, and was chosen for the sake of enabling him to get between general Greene and his detachments on the Congaree. His whole force amounted to near eighteen hundred infantry, and one hundred and fifty cavalry.

General

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General Greene had regular intelligence of lord Rawdon's movements; and finding from his progress that it would be impossible to reduce Ninety-six by regular approaches before his arrival, determined to hazard an assault. Although the American works were not entirely finished, they were in a state of great forwardness: Their third parallel was completed, and a mine and two trenches had been pushed on within a few feet of the ditch. In the morning of the eighteenth of June a heavy cannonade was begun from all the American batteries: At noon two parties advanced under cover of the trenches which approached nearest to the works, and made lodgments in the ditch: These were immediately followed by other parties with hooks to draw down the sand-bags, and tools to reduce the parapet. The rifle men, in the mean time, posted on their battery, were ready to take aim at every British soldier that appeared; and the Virginia and Maryland brigades, having manned the lines of the third parallel, fired from them by platoons. The right flank of the enemy was exposed to the fire of a three-pounder, as well as to that of the block-houses in the village; and major Greene, who commanded in the Star, with much honour to himself, and benefit to the service, from the beginning of the siege, had his detachment ready to receive them on the parapet with bayonets and spears. As the main body of the American army did not advance beyond the third parallel, and was contented with supporting the parties in the ditch by an incessant fire from the trenches, the garrison determined to put a speedy period to the assault by an effort of gallantry which confounded the enemy. Two parties of thirty men each, one under captain Campbell of the New Jersey volunteers, and the other under captain French of Delancey's, issued from

from the Sally-port in the rear of the Star, entered the ditch, and taking opposite directions, charged the Americans who had made the lodgment with such impetuosity, that they drove every thing before them until they met in the opposite quarter. The bayonet being the only weapon used, the carnage was great: Even the American accounts admit that two-thirds of their people who entered the ditch were either killed or wounded. General Greene, seeing it useless any longer to continue so hopeless an attempt, called off his troops, and in the evening of the following day finally raised the siege. His baggage having been previously sent off, his army marched with great expedition, and on the twentieth crossed the Saluda. The loss of the enemy, during the siege, according to their own accounts, amounted to one hundred and sixty-six men, including one colonel, three captains, and five lieutenants: But as the loss of the militia, who, it is said, on this occasion bore the proportion of three to one to the troops in the pay of congress, was not included in their returns, their total loss must have been much greater. That of the garrison amounted to twenty-seven killed, and fifty-eight wounded. Lieutenant Roney was the only commissioned officer killed; and captains French and Smith of Delancey's, with captain Barbarie and lieutenant Hatton of the New Jersey volunteers, were amongst the wounded. On the twenty-first of June, in the morning, lord Rawdon arrived at Ninety-six, and when he found that general Greene had retreated across the Saluda, neither the heat of the weather nor the fatigue of the troops, after so long a march, prevented his lordship from setting out in pursuit of him the same evening. But so rapid was the flight of the Americans, that he soon perceived

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The siege
of Ninety-
six raised.

Lord Raw-
don, having
arrived at
Ninety-six,
pursues ge-
neral
Greene.

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ceived there was little prospect of overtaking them. Nevertheless, the pursuit, under many wants, and the rage of a burning sun, was continued as far as the banks of the Enoree, when his lordship, finding it in vain to proceed any farther, returned towards Ninety-six. As the post of Ninety-six was now to be evacuated, being without the limits to which the British commanders, from recent circumstances, had determined to confine their defence, lord Rawdon thought it necessary to pay all due attention to the loyal inhabitants who had remained faithful to their engagements. He convened the principal persons amongst them, and offered, if they chose to remain, and would undertake the defence of their district against their own disaffected inhabitants, to leave a party for their countenance and assistance, and from time to time to send such reinforcements from the Congaree as might be equal to any force that general Greene could spare for invading them; but if they were unwilling to remain, he promised that care should be taken for the removal of them and their families within the new frontier about to be established. The inhabitants accepted the last of these proposals: and in order effectually to grant that protection which he had promised, lord Rawdon left more than half his force with lieutenant-colonel Cruger, to escort them when they should be ready to move, whilst he, with eight hundred infantry, and sixty cavalry, marched towards the Congaree.

Lord Rawdon, with half his force, marches to the Congaree.

Although general Greene, in his retreat from Ninety-six, had passed not only the Enoree, but Tyger and Broad Rivers, no sooner did he hear that Lord Rawdon had divided his force, than he returned, with a view of interrupting his lordship's operations on the Congaree, where it was supposed

ed he meant to establish a post. Lord Rawdon, it is probable, would not have undertaken his march to that part of the country with so diminished a force, had he not expected to be met there by a strong corps from Charlestown, which he had at first ordered to take post at Orangeburgh, and afterwards to join him upon the Congaree at an appointed time. From some cause or other, this corps, after it had begun its march, was recalled by orders from Charlestown; and, unfortunately, the letter from the commanding officer, acquainting lord Rawdon with his recal, and the impossibility of meeting him at the time appointed, was intercepted and carried to general Greene. Upon the receipt of this letter he pressed forward on his march with redoubled expedition, hoping to obtain some advantage over lord Rawdon, whilst he waited for a reinforcement that was not to join him. Soon after his lordship's arrival at the Congaree, one of his foraging parties was surprised by Lee's legion, and about forty cavalry were made prisoners. The appearance of the enemy's light troops in that quarter of the country, quickly convinced his lordship that general Greene's army was at no great distance; and as he had not been joined by his reinforcement at the appointed time, he thought it necessary to take measures for his own security. Accordingly he retired from the Congaree, and marched for Orangeburgh, where he expected to meet the reinforcement from Charlestown. After forcing his passage at noon day, in the face of the enemy, over a creek, the bridges of which were broken down and its fords guarded by Lee's legion, he without further molestation arrived at Orangeburgh, and was joined the next day by lieutenant-colonel Stuart, with the third regiment, from Charlestown.

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Retires to
Orange-
burgh.

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General Greene, finding that lord Rawdon by his activity and enterprize had extricated himself from the danger to which he was exposed, collected all the militia he could, and advanced with his army within five miles of the British encampment, which at the head of his cavalry he reconnoitred in the evening, lord Rawdon giving him no interruption, as he wished for nothing more than an attack in his present position. But the American commander, instead of preparing for an attack, decamped in the night, and retiring towards the Congaree, had passed that river before lord Rawdon was apprized of his retreat. It is probable that general Greene's retreat was hastened by intelligence received about this time, that lieutenant-colonel Cruger, after evacuating Ninety-six, and conducting the loyal inhabitants and their families safely within the British posts, was advancing to join lord Rawdon with the rest of the army. Whilst the main American army retired across the Congaree, Sumpter, Lee, and Marion, with their respective corps, were detached by different routes to the lower part of the country, for the purpose of harassing the British outposts, and waylaying their convoys. They succeeded in taking some waggons with baggage and stores, but failed in an attempt upon the nineteenth regiment at Monk's Corner.

July.
Hostilities
suspended
by the in-
tense heat
of the sea-
son.

Lord Raw-
don, on ac-
count of his
health, em-
barks for
Europe.

The weather now became so intensely hot, that hostilities for some time were necessarily suspended: General Greene retired with his army to the high hills of Santee, where he was soon afterwards joined by the different corps under Lee, Sumpter, and Marion; and lord Rawdon, on account of ill health, availed himself, in this interval of inaction, of his leave of absence obtained some time before, and embarked for Europe. At his departure,

ture,

ture, the command of the British troops in the field devolved on lieutenant-colonel Stuart of the third regiment, or Buffs.

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Although general Greene in the course of the present year had been driven from South Carolina into Virginia, was afterwards defeated in two general engagements, and finally obliged to raise the siege of Ninety-six, and fly with great precipitation before the British army; yet, through his own firmness and perseverance, the successes of his detachments against the British outposts, and the advantages derived from the general disaffection of the inhabitants to the British cause, he succeeded in the main object of the campaign. The British troops, harassed and wearied out with the defence of an extensive frontier, to which their force was unequal without the assistance of the inhabitants, were obliged in the end to abandon to him the greatest part of South Carolina; the limits of their possessions being now confined within the three great rivers Santee, Congaree, and Edisto; and before the end of the year, as will presently be seen, their limits were contracted within a much narrower compass.

After the retreat of the Americans from Orangeburgh to the high hills of Santee, the British army under colonel Stuart moved forward to the Congaree, and encamped near the junction of that river with the Wateree. In the mean time general Greene was reinforced by a brigade of continental troops from North Carolina, and intent upon prosecuting his plan for the recovery of South Carolina, put his forces in motion as soon as the extreme heat began to abate. On the twenty-second of August he marched from the high hills of Santee with an intention to give battle to the British army, and proceeding up the

August.

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 XLIII. Camden. From thence he directed his march to
 1781. Friday's Ferry on the Congaree, where he was
 joined by general Pickens with the militia of
 Ninety-six, and by the South Carolina state troops
 under colonel Henderson.

The British commander, upon receiving intelligence that general Greene was on his march to attack him, fell back with his whole force to Eutaw, about forty miles from the Congaree. This movement was made for the purpose of meeting a convoy of provisions then on the road from Charlestown, rather than weaken the army whilst an attack was expected, by sending off so strong an escort as would have been necessary for securing its safe arrival. General Greene having passed the Congaree, continued to advance towards Eutaw, but by very slow marches, that he might give time to general Marion to join him with his brigade of militia. This junction was made on the seventh of September, about seven miles from Eutaw; and at four in the morning of the following day, general Greene marched with his whole force to make his projected attack. At six o'clock in the morning came in two deserters from Greene's army, with intelligence that he was on his march to attack the British army at Eutaw. Unfortunately their report was neither credited nor enquired into; but they themselves sent to prison. A party of four hundred men without arms, with a small guard to cover them, were sent in search of vegetables in the very road on which the deserters gave information that general Greene was marching. The event proved that the intelligence given by the deserters was well founded. The unarmed rooting party and their small guard, making at the least a third part of colonel Stuart's force,

force, fell an easy prey to Greene's army; a few straggling horsemen that escaped, apprized the British commander of the enemy's approach, at the same time infusing a degree of panic into all with whom they communicated. The British were drawn up across the road on the heights near the Eutaw Springs. The flank battalion, commanded by major Majoribanks, covered the right flank of the army, his right being upon a rivulet with an interval of a hundred paces from the water; his left to the road was concealed by a very thick hedge. Two pieces of artillery, with a covering party of infantry, occupied the road. The remainder of the British force extended to the left of the road, in an oblique direction. The front line of the American army was composed of four battalions of militia; the second line, of three brigades of continental troops; colonel Lee, with his legion, covered their right flank, and colonel Henderson, with South Carolina state troops, their left: Colonel Washington, with his cavalry and the Delaware troops, formed their body of reserve. Two three-pounders were in front of their line, and two six-pounders with the second line. The legion and the state troops formed their advanced guard, and were to retreat on their flanks when the British should form. The enemy attacked with great impetuosity; the chief impression seemed to be designed against the artillery on the road, and to turn the left of the British. The pressure of the enemy's fire was such as compelled the third regiment, or Buffs, to give way, the regiment being composed of new troops. The remains of those veteran corps, the sixty-third and sixty-fourth regiments, who had served the whole of the war, lost none of their fame in this action. They rushed with bayonets into the midst of the enemy;

nor

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Action between colonel Stuart and general Greene near the Eutaw Springs.

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nor did they give ground, until overpowered by numbers and severe slaughter. Various was the success in the centre and on the right. At this time colonel Washington, endeavouring to pass through the right of the flank corps and the rivulet, led his cavalry with great gallantry to the charge. The flank corps received this charge with great steadiness. At the first fire, colonel Washington was wounded and taken prisoner, and several of his men fell, which prevented a similar attack. The artillery on both sides was several times taken and retaken.

At this time the flank battalion, whose post had been passed undiscovered by the main body of the enemy, wheeled round, and coming in the rear of the enemy, threw them into confusion, which being increased by a fire from the New York volunteers, under the command of major Sheridan, who had taken post in a stone house on the open ground upon the right of the road, decided the action. Incessant peals of musquetry from the windows poured destruction upon the enemy, and effectually stopped their further progress. Although severely checked, the Americans were not discouraged, and brought up four six pounders to batter the house: But the fire of the detachment within continued to be so well supported, that the American artillery became useless, and most of the officers and men that were attached to it, were either killed or wounded. In the mean time the left wing of the British army having recovered from its confusion, had again formed the line, and the battle was renewed with great spirit in that quarter. The contest was obstinate and bloody; but the Americans were at last obliged to retire. For want of cavalry, no pursuit could be made; whilst that of the enemy, which was numerous, covered

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covered their retreat. They were obliged to abandon two of the four pieces of cannon that had been brought up against the house, and they left behind them, according to their own account, one hundred and thirty-nine of their number killed on the field of battle. Their wounded, which may be supposed to bear the usual proportion to the killed, were carried off during the action. About sixty of the enemy were made prisoners, and amongst them lieutenant-colonel Washington, who commanded their reserve. The whole loss of the Americans in this action may be estimated at more than seven hundred * men, including sixty commissioned officers, of whom seventeen were killed and forty-three wounded. The loss of the British army was also very great; it amounted to eighty five killed, three hundred and fifty-one wounded, and two hundred and fifty-seven missing; in all, six hundred and ninety-three men, including twenty-nine commissioned officers, three of whom were killed, sixteen wounded, and ten missing.

The incidents attending this action gave occasion to both commanders to claim the victory. General Greene founded his pretensions upon the retreat of the British line, and its being pursued to the house and open ground in the rear; and most assuredly, for some time, the fortune of the day seemed to be entirely in favour of the Americans.

Victory in
this action
claimed by
both parties.

* The account here given does not agree with the returns published by congress: But that return, as given in Tarleton's Appendix, appears, upon the face of it, to be incorrect. The particulars do not make up the sum total. The number here estimated supposes the wounded to have borne the usual proportion to the slain. The slain being left on the field of battle, their number could not be concealed. Ramsay states, that the loss of general Marion's brigade of militia is not included in the return published by congress.

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The British commander, on the other hand, rested his claim of victory upon this ground, that although a temporary advantage had been obtained over part of the British line, which rendered a retreat necessary, yet the troops, who had thus retreated, afterwards formed and renewed the battle with so much spirit, that the Americans were ultimately obliged to quit the field, and retire to a strong position seven miles in their rear. This action was nevertheless celebrated in America as a great and glorious victory; and in commemoration of it the congress voted a British standard and gold medal to be presented to general Greene. That it was a bloody, hard-fought action, the loss on both sides sufficiently testifies; but that neither party obtained a decisive advantage over the other, the conduct of both commanders after the action plainly demonstrates. The British commander remained upon the ground the night after the action and the following day, without any attempt being made by general Greene to molest him; and when he afterwards retired to Monk's Corner for the safety and protection of his wounded, the American commander contented himself with advancing to the ground left by the British troops, and soon afterwards retreated to his former encampment on the high hills of Santee, placing a large river between him and the British army. The reasonable conclusion to be drawn from the conduct of both seems to be this, that in the action both armies suffered so much, that for some time afterwards neither of them was in a situation to undertake any thing against the other. Indeed this was the last action of any consequence that happened in South Carolina between the king's troops and the Americans: The former, from this time, chiefly confined themselves to Charlestown Neck and some posts in
its

its neighbourhood; the security of that town appearing to be their principal object; and general Greene either was not, or did not think himself, in sufficient force to reduce it. In this action the British lost one field-piece, and took two from the Americans.

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Operations of the British Army in Virginia under the Command of General Philips—Destruction of American Stores—Death of General Philips—Junction between the Armies under Lord Cornwallis and General Arnold—Charlottesville surprised by Colonel Tarleton—Stratagem practised with success by Colonel Simcoe on Baron Steuben—Unfavourable Aspect of American Affairs—Apprehension of Sir Henry Clinton for the safety of New York—Lord Cornwallis crosses James River, and retires to Portsmouth—Evacuates Portsmouth, and concentrates his Force at York and Gloucester—Junction of the Forces of Washington and Rochambeau—Naval Operations—The French Fleet under Count de Grasse arrives in the Chesapeake—Partial Action between the Count de Grasse and Admiral Graves—New London taken by General Arnold..

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AFTER it had been determined to carry the war into the southern colonies, first a detachment, as has already been mentioned, under general Leslie, and another afterwards under general Arnold, amounting to about sixteen hundred, were sent by the commander in chief from New York into Virginia, for the double purpose of destroying the enemy's stores, and of assisting, by means of a diversion, the operations of lord Cornwallis in the two Carolinas; the first of which services was performed to a very considerable extent. A plan was formed by general Washington for entrapping

trapping Arnold, and taking him and his whole detachment; which, however, was defeated by the backwardness of the French, and the good conduct of the English admiral.

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A reinforcement of two thousand British troops, under the command of general Philips, arrived safely in the Chesapeake on the twenty-sixth of March. The general, being of superior rank to Arnold, now assumed the command of the whole British force in Virginia; and although, after viewing the post at Portsmouth, he was of opinion that it could not be rendered secure, and was also too extensive to be defended by any number of men that could be spared from the other exigencies of the service; yet, as the works that had been begun were in a great state of forwardness, he continued to employ the troops upon them until they were finished, which happened about the middle of April. The general being then at liberty to pursue other objects, after leaving a garrison at Portsmouth, embarked the troops, on the eighteenth of April, on board the smallest vessels of the fleet, and proceeded up James River. The object in view was, in the first place, to disperse a body of militia who were said to have assembled at Williamsburg, the former seat of government in Virginia, and afterwards to destroy such of the enemy's public stores, on the south side of James River, as had not fallen within the range of general Arnold's expedition. The army having landed at Burrell's Ferry, was immediately marched to Williamsburg; but the militia collected there had already fled. They now proceeded, in different divisions and detachments, to distress and weaken the enemy as much as possible, by destroying all the means by which they might be enabled to support the war. If Virginia had been hitherto favoured, it seems to have been determined at this

Operations
of the British
army
in Virginia
under the
command
of general
Philips.

Destruction
of American
stores.

time

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time to inflict upon it a more than common portion of vengeance : And, so vulnerable is that province, by the joint operation of a land and naval force, that the British troops committed the greatest devastations without any serious opposition, or sustaining any loss.

General Philips, having proceeded up the river as far as he intended to go, marched his army back to Osborne's, a village on the banks of James River, and from thence to Bermuda Hundred, opposite to City Point, where the fleet was ready to receive him. On the second of May the troops were reimbarke'd, and the fleet moved slowly down the river. As the marquis de la Fayette followed by land with his army, it was thought to have been general Philips's intention, after decoying him to a sufficient distance down the river, to have embraced the first favourable breeze of wind, and suddenly returning, to have landed above him. By such a manœuvre the marquis de la Fayette would have been shut up between York and James River, and to extricate himself must have risked an engagement, or hazarded the loss of the greatest part of his force by attempting to pass either of those rivers in the view of the British army. But on the seventh of May a letter was received from lord Cornwallis, informing the general of his march towards Virginia, and proposing Petersburg as the place where he would wish to find the British army. Upon the receipt of this letter, orders were immediately given for the fleet to move up the river. One division of the army was landed at Brandon, and another proceeded to City Point ; and on the ninth both met at Petersburg, where they surprised some of the marquis de la Fayette's officers, who had been sent forward to provide quarters for his army. General Philips at this time lay dangerously ill : He had been attacked

Death of
general Philips.

tacked by a fever some days before, the progress of which was so rapid, and its symptoms so malignant, that by the time of the army's arrival at Petersburg he was no longer capable of giving orders, and died four days after. By his death the command of the troops devolved again on brigadier-general Arnold.

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In the mean time lord Cornwallis had arrived at Halifax on the banks of the Roanoke, within sixty miles of Petersburg. In his march from Wilmington to that place he had met with scarcely any interruption, a corps of one hundred and eighty cavalry, and sixty mounted infantry, that preceded the army under the command of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, being sufficient to disperse any small bodies of militia that were assembling in order to obstruct its progress. Colonel Tarleton, in this expedition, was accompanied by that valuable partizan, colonel Hamilton, of the North Carolina regiment; to whom, perhaps, the British nation owed more than to any other individual loyalist in the British service*.

Lord Cornwallis, having sent forward Tarleton with the cavalry, and general Arnold having detached Simcoe with the queen's rangers, to take possession of the fords on the Nottoway and the Meherrin, the only rivers that intervened, a junction of the two armies took place at Petersburg on the twentieth of May. Lord Cornwallis of course assumed the command of the whole.

It will be remembered, that when the fleet went down James River from Bermuda Hundred, the marquis de la Fayette followed it with his army by land. But as soon as it began to return, he marched back with all the dispatch he could. He

* At Halifax some enormities were committed by the British that were a disgrace to the name of man.

rightly

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rightly judged it to be the intention of general Philips to take possession of Petersburg, in order to facilitate a junction with earl Cornwallis, and he hoped, by forced marches, to reach that place before him. The expedition with which the British troops returned, entirely frustrated his intention; and upon his arrival at Osborne's on the south side of James River, he found they were already in possession of Petersburg. Thus foiled in his design, he re-crossed James River, and took a position on the north side of it, between Richmond and Wilton.

It seems to have been lord Cornwallis's first object to endeavour to strike a blow at the marquis; his next, to destroy such of the enemy's stores as might be within his reach after the American army had been either defeated or obliged to retire; and lastly, after proceeding to the execution of these objects, which probably might be accomplished by the time he could hear from New York, to keep himself disengaged from any operation that could interfere with the plan that might be devised by the commander in chief for the further prosecution of the campaign. Having settled his own temporary plan of operations, lord Cornwallis marched from Petersburg on the twenty-fourth of May, and crossed James River at Westover, about thirty miles below Fayette's encampment*. The British army was already greatly superior to the continental force in Virginia, and about this time it was considerably increased by the arrival of two British regiments, and two battalions of Anspach troops from New York, sent by the commander in chief (who had not yet received intel-

* The channel of the river where the British crossed exceeded two miles. The passage was effected by swimming the horses over a part, and wading through the rest.

ligence

ligence of lord Cornwallis's arrival to reinforce general Philips, under an apprehension that when the Americans heard of lord Cornwallis's march to the northward, they might make some attempt to overpower general Philips before a junction of the two armies could be effected. Of this reinforcement the forty-third regiment alone joined the army: The other British regiment, and the two battalions of Anspach, were sent to strengthen the garrison at Portsmouth.

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The force under Fayette being so much inferior to that which was opposed to him, he decamped from the neighbourhood of Richmond, as soon as he heard that lord Cornwallis had crossed James River, and retired towards the back-country, inclining his route to the northward, that he might be in readiness to form a junction with general Wayne, who was on his march through Maryland to reinforce him with eight hundred men of the Pennsylvania line. The British army for some time followed the route taken by the marquis de la Fayette, and in this direction proceeded as far as the upper part of Hanover County, destroying in their way whatever public stores they found. But Fayette's movements were so rapid, that lord Cornwallis soon found it would be in vain to follow him, and impossible to prevent a junction between him and general Wayne: His lordship's attention was therefore directed to other objects more attainable, which the intelligence received on his march had presented to his view.

One of these objects was to break up the session of the general assembly, then met under a guard at Charlottesville, for the purpose of voting taxes, draughting the militia, and making an addition to the regular force of the state. The other object was to strike at the baron Steuben, who was said

to

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Charlotte-
ville sur-
prised by
colonel
Tarleton.

to be at the Point of Fork, on James River, guarding a considerable quantity of stores, with a strong detachment of troops called eighteen-months men*, and militia. To accomplish the first, Tarleton was detached with one hundred and eighty cavalry of the legion, and seventy mounted infantry of the twenty-third regiment, under the command of captain Champagnet: And the execution of the last was entrusted to lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, with the queen's rangers, and the second battalion of the seventy-first regiment, commanded by captain Hutchinson, the detachment amounting to five hundred men. Tarleton proceeded to Charlotteville, with great expedition; and on his way overtook twelve wag-gons loaded with arms and cloathing for the use of the army in South Carolina, all of which were burnt and destroyed. The Revanna, a branch of James River, washes the foot of the hill on which Charlotteville stands. Through this river Tarleton charged at the head of his cavalry, and took or dispersed the guards stationed on the opposite bank. With the like rapidity he entered the town, and took prisoners seven members of the assembly. The rest made their escape. So unexpected was Tarleton's visit, that the enemy had not time to remove their stores. A considerable

* So called from the time for which they engaged to serve.

† The 71st regiment was ordered to accompany Tarleton on this service; but upon receiving the order the officers drew up a remonstrance, and presented it to lord Cornwallis, stating their unwillingness to serve under Tarleton, from a recollection of his conduct at the Cowpens, where the other battalion of the 71st was taken by Morgan. In consequence of this remonstrance, the 71st regiment was attached to colonel Simcoe.

quantity

quantity was found, and the whole destroyed*. CHAP. XLIV.
 Tarleton, after performing this service, proceeded
 down the Revanna, according to his orders, to
 co-operate with Simcoe, if he should have occasion
 for his assistance. The Point of Fork, to which
 lieutenant-colonel Simcoe was directing his march,
 is so called from being the point of land that in-
 tervenes at the conflux of the two great branches
 of James River, the Fluvanna and Revanna. The
 united streams from the point of junction take the
 name of James River. As the greatest part of
 his detachment consisted of infantry, his progress
 could not be so rapid as that of Tarleton; but it
 was as expeditious as the nature of his detachment
 would admit: And by the prudent precautions
 taken for securing every person met or seen on the
 road, he effectually concealed his march from the
 enemy. By some of his prisoners he found that
 baron Steuben was apprised of Tarleton's march,
 but knew nothing of Simcoe's; and from the
 same persons he learnt that the baron had begun
 to transport his stores to the south side of the Flu-
 vanna, and meant to follow them with his whole
 detachment. Upon receiving this intelligence,
 Simcoe pressed forward with still greater celerity,
 hoping at least to cut off the baron's rear-guard
 before it had time to pass the river. But upon
 his arrival at the Point of Fork, he found that not
 only the stores, but the baron's whole force, had
 passed the river, except about thirty persons then
 on the bank ready to embark. These were imme-
 diately secured by the cavalry. As both the
 enemy's stores and troops were now completely

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Stratagem
 practised
 with success
 by colonel
 Simcoe, on
 baron Steu-
 ben.

* Stores destroyed at Charlottesville:

1000 new fire-locks, made at Fredericksburgh.

Upwards of 400 barrells of gunpowder.

Several hgds. of tobacco, and some continental cloathing.

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out

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out of Simcoe's reach, a deep and unfordable river intervening, with the boats all secured on the other side, he conceived the design of endeavouring to impress the baron with the belief, that the troops now at the Point of Fork were the advance of the British army, hoping, if he was successful in his endeavours for that purpose, that the baron, for the sake of moving off with greater expedition, might be induced to leave behind the greatest part of the stores.

In pursuance of this design, Simcoe displayed his force to as great advantage as possible, upon the heights opposite to the baron's encampment; and the deception succeeded beyond his expectation. In the following night the baron moved off, leaving the bank of the river opposite to the Point of Fork, covered with arms and stores. In the morning it was apparent that the enemy had fled, and some small canoes being procured, captain Stevenson, with twenty of the light-infantry, and cornet Wolfey, with four hussars, passed the river, the hussars carrying with them their saddles. Wolfey was directed, after mounting his hussars on such straggling horses as had been left by the enemy, to take post at some distance from the bank of the river, upon the road by which the enemy retreated; and should any of their patrols appear, he was directed to raise a shout, and make an appearance of pursuing, in order to raise a belief that the British army had passed the river. This step was taken for the security of captain Stevenson and his small detachment of light-infantry, who were in the mean time employed in bringing off or destroying the stores abandoned by the enemy; and it answered every purpose that was expected from it. In the course of the day a patrol of the enemy appeared, which fled with the utmost precipitation, upon seeing the British hussars;

hussars; and from the report made by this patrol CHAP.
to the baron Steuben, he was induced, though al- XLIV.
ready thirty miles from the Fluvanna, to continue
his march twenty miles farther without halting. 1781.

In the mean time the marquis de la Fayette, who upon the advance of the British army had retreated across Rappahannock River, being joined by general Wayne with his detachment, re-crossed that river, and followed the British army in its march to Williamsburgh: On the road he was also joined by the baron Steuben, with his eighteen-months men, and militia.

Although a dawn of prosperity had begun to appear in South Carolina, under the auspices of Greene, the general state of American affairs seemed at this time to be in a ruinous train, and fast verging towards that period when the contest must cease, on the part of the congress, for want of resources to maintain it. The bills of credit, by which they had hitherto supported the war, now failed them. The depreciation had become so immense, that they no longer answered the purposes for which they were issued, and, in the course of the present year, sunk under their own bulk, and were annihilated in the hands of those that possessed them. The failure of this medium of commerce multiplied beyond calculation the difficulties under which the congress laboured, and had a fatal influence on their service throughout the whole extent of the union. The agents for public departments could no longer make their purchases; and warrants of impress became necessary to force from individuals whatever was wanted for the public service, and the support of the army. Even the troops were ready to mutiny in several places for want of pay and clothing. Although general Washington's army was greatly diminished, he found it still too large for the means he had

Unfavourable aspect of American affairs.

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of subsisting it. In a letter written by him on the tenth of May, is the following passage: "From the posts of Saratoga to that of Dobb's Ferry, inclusive, I believe there is not at this moment on hand, one day's supply of meat for the army." And in another letter, dated almost two months afterwards, he intimated his fears of being obliged to disband his army for want of subsistence. The marine force of the congress was not in a better condition than their army: Of all the armed vessels that had been fitted out by them, two frigates alone remained; the rest had been all either taken or destroyed. The immense value of the public property and stores destroyed in Virginia, darkened the gloomy prospect, and seemed to hasten with rapid strides the era of public bankruptcy. Nor could they derive any comfort from the commerce carried on by individuals, which was now almost annihilated, in consequence of the captures made by the British cruizers, and the great losses sustained at the taking of St. Eustatius. The people too, in many of the colonies, were become tired of the war, and seemed to languish under the long continuance of their distresses and difficulties.

Some signal success, some atchievement of importance, that should reflect lustre on the American arms, was therefore necessary to restore the declining state of their affairs, to rouse afresh the spirit and energy of the people, and even to enable congress to maintain their authority. But no enterprise that promised success could be attempted against any of the British posts in America, without the co-operation of a French fleet and army. The congress had been already disappointed in their expectations of such a co-operation for three years successively; but as they had renewed their applications on that head, towards the end of the preceding

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preceding year, and had at the same time made the court of France acquainted with the desperate state of their affairs, which the effect of such a co-operation could alone save from ruin; they hoped that the interest of that court, as much as its friendship, would induce a compliance. Washington looked forward with eagerness to such an event, as the only thing that could enable them to prolong the contest: And, as soon as he heard of the arrival of M. de Barras, who was sent out from France to take the command of the fleet at Rhode Island, and brought with him dispatches for the count de Rochambeau, he hastened to Connecticut, that he might have a conference with the French general. The count's dispatches seem to have given full satisfaction to Washington, as at this interview it was agreed between him and the French general, to carry into execution the attempt against New York, which they had meditated the preceding year; if their force, when assembled, should be found equal to the enterprise: But, in all events, it was their determination, upon the arrival of the count de Grasse, to strike a blow at one or other of the British posts, where success was most reasonably to be expected. This interview took place on the twenty-first of May, and immediately after it, letters were written by Washington, requesting, that the battalions composing his army might be filled up to their full complement, and at the same time he made a requisition to the New England states, for six thousand two hundred militia, to be ready to march whenever he should call for them. The express carrying the letters written by Washington to congress, after this interview with the French general was intercepted in the Jerseys; and the letters were carried to sir Henry Clinton. They disclosed the nature of the enterprise in agitation, and

seem

Apprehensions of sir
H. Clinton
for the safety of New
York.

CHAP. seem to have alarmed him for the safety of New
 XLIV. York. In consequence of the information gathered
 1781. from these letters, the commander in chief made a requisition of part of the troops under lord Cornwallis's command in Virginia, and directed that they should be sent to New York without delay, unless his lordship should at the time be engaged in some important movement that might render it necessary to detain them some time longer; or unless he should be disposed to execute the plan which the commander in chief seems to have had much at heart, of carrying the war to the upper part of the Chesapeak, and upon the Susquehanna, where a number of loyalists had associated for their mutual defence, and were said to be ready to act whenever the king's troops should appear amongst them. At the time of receiving the dispatches containing this requisition, lord Cornwallis was engaged in no important operation: He had returned from his expedition up James River, and was then with his army at Williamsburgh: Neither did he mean to engage in the expedition to the upper part of the Chesapeak, of which he disapproved, without express orders from the commander in chief, which would exempt him from all responsibility, at least for the plan of that expedition. Under these circumstances he prepared, without delay, to comply with the commander in chief's requisition for troops; and as, after their embarkation, he was of opinion that those which remained would not be sufficient to enable him to remain at Williamsburgh, he took the resolution of passing James River, and retiring to Portsmouth. An express was sent off to acquaint the commander in chief with this determination, and with the steps taking for an immediate compliance with his requisition. In the dispatches written

written on this occasion, which bear date the thirtieth of June, lord Cornwallis takes occasion to mention, that upon viewing York (which had been proposed as a defensive post, proper to be taken for the security of shipping), he was clearly of opinion that it far exceeded his power, consistently with the commander in chief's plans, to make defensive posts there and at Gloucester, both of which would be necessary for the protection of shipping; and apparently chagrined with the idea of having his force reduced so far as to be obliged to act upon the defensive in a province where, in his own opinion, the most vigorous offensive operations were necessary, he intimated a willingness, if the commander in chief approved of it, to return to Charlestown, and take the command in South Carolina, although in that quarter nothing but mortification and disappointment was to be expected.

The resolution of passing James River being taken, the army marched from Williamsburgh on the fourth of July, and encamped on a piece of ground that covered a ford into the island of James Town; and the same evening the queen's rangers passed the river. On the fifth the wheel-carriages, and on the sixth the bat-horses and baggage were passed over; whilst the army continued in the same encampment. In the mean time the marquis de la Fayette, thinking that the main body of the British army had already crossed the river, advanced by forced marches to strike a blow at the rear-guard. Information of his approach was communicated to earl Cornwallis about noon of the sixth of July, and some pains were taken, by suffering the piquets to be insulted and driven in, to confirm him in the belief that only the rear-guard of the British army remained. About four in the afternoon, some of the outposts were

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were attacked by rifle-men and militia; but Fayette, with the main body, did not appear till towards sunset, when he passed a morass with nine hundred continentals, six hundred militia, and some artillery, and began to form in front of the British encampment. The British troops were immediately ordered under arms, and advanced to the attack in two lines. On the right, the affair was soon over; the British troops in that quarter being opposed only by militia, who were quickly put to flight: But, on the left, lieutenant-colonel Dundas's brigade, consisting of the forty-third, seventy-sixth, and eightieth regiments, being opposed by the Pennsylvania line, assisted by part of Fayette's continentals, with two pieces of cannon, the action, while it lasted, was sharp and bloody. After a severe contest, the provincials were routed, and their cannon taken. They fled across the morass in great confusion; but by the time of their flight it was dark, and to that circumstance alone they owed their safety: An hour more of day-light would have probably been attended with the ruin of Fayette's whole detachment, as the cavalry were in readiness to pursue, and the light-infantry and other troops on the right of the British line in excellent condition to support them, from having sustained no loss in the action. In this action the king's troops had five officers wounded, and about seventy privates killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to about three hundred. The weight of the action fell upon the seventy-sixth and eightieth regiments, both of them lately raised; and their firmness and intrepidity did them singular honour: The gallantry and good conduct of lieutenant-colonel Dundas, who commanded them, merited and obtained the highest commendation. The army having passed

James

James River, the troops ordered for embarkation were sent forward to Portsmouth, whilst lord Cornwallis followed by easy marches with the rest. After the embarkation of the troops, but before the transports put to sea, an order arrived from the commander in chief to countermand their sailing. He wrote at the same time to earl Cornwallis, expressing his surprise that he should have taken the resolution of quitting the neck of land at Williamsburgh without consulting him; directing him, if he was still there, to remain until further orders; or, if he had left it, to endeavour to repossess it, for the purpose of establishing a defensive post for the protection of ships of the line, which he supposed might be found somewhere within that neck, and probably either at Old Point Comfort on Hampton Road, or York Town on York River. And as the first of these places was recommended by the admiral, lord Cornwallis was directed to examine it, and, if found eligible, to occupy it either with or without York Town, as should seem expedient. For the purpose of establishing such a post as was wanted, his lordship was at liberty to retain all or any part of the troops ordered for embarkation, that should be found necessary. And, in the strongest terms, the commander in chief deprecated the idea of quitting the Chesapeake entirely; on the contrary, he declared, that as soon as the season for acting in that country returned, he should probably send there all the troops he could spare from the different posts under his command: He therefore recommended it to lord Cornwallis, if he had quitted York, to re-occupy it, or at least to hold Old Point Comfort, if it was possible to do it, without at the same time holding York.

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Lord Cornwallis crosses James River, and retires to Portsmouth.

Upon

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August.
Evacuates
Portsm-
mouth, and
concen-
trates his
force at
York and
Gloucester,

Upon the receipt of those dispatches, lord Cornwallis, who, by that time, had reached Portsmouth, directed Old Point Comfort to be viewed by the engineers and the officers of the navy. From their report it appeared, that works constructed on Old Point Comfort would neither command the entrance into Hampton Road, nor secure his majesty's ships when lying at anchor within it: It could therefore be of no use as a defensive station for ships; and as Portsmouth was admitted, on all hands, not to be such a post as was desired, from its giving no protection to ships of the line, lord Cornwallis was of opinion, that the spirit of his instructions left him no other option than to fortify York and Gloucester, the only places that remained capable of affording the requisite protection to ships of that denomination. Measures were accordingly taken for seizing and fortifying these posts, and for evacuating Portsmouth. Part of the army, in transports and boats, proceeded up the Chesapeake, and took possession of them on the first of August; and the evacuation of Portsmouth having been completed on the twentieth, lord Cornwallis's whole force on the twenty-second was concentrated at York and Gloucester.

Junction of
the forces of
Washington
and Ro-
chambeau.

In the mean time general Washington had assembled his army at Peek's Kill towards the end of the month of June, and marching from thence to White Plains, was there joined on the sixth of July by the count de Rochambeau with the French troops from Rhode Island. In the evening of the twenty-first, the whole American and part of the French army marched from their encampment towards King's Bridge, and appearing before it early next morning, were drawn up in order of battle, whilst the French and American officers reconnoitred

connoitred the position of the British works. The same scene was re-acted in the morning of the twenty-third, and in the afternoon the confederated armies returned to their former encampment. Both the French and American commanders had been for some time impatiently expecting dispatches from the count de Grasse. At length they arrived about the middle of August, and announced the intention of the count de Grasse to enter the Chesapeak with his fleet about the end of the month, and commence his operations there. They also gave intimation, that he could not remain long upon the American coast.

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If any doubt existed before, as to the point of attack, it was now removed. Nothing could anywhere be done without a covering fleet; and as the count de Grasse had determined to enter the Chesapeak, it was agreed between Washington and Rochambeau, that Virginia should be the scene, and an attack upon Lord Cornwallis was the object of their joint operations. Letters to this effect were dispatched to meet the count de Grasse on his passage, and in the mean time measures were taken to continue sir Henry Clinton in the belief that New York was still the object of their enterprise. After several movements, and various deceptions practised to induce this belief, the allied army suddenly marched across the Jerseys to Philadelphia, where it arrived on the thirtieth of August.

That the count de Grasse intended to visit the American coast during the hurricane months in the West Indies, was no secret to the commander in chief at New York. He had made this discovery from Washington's intercepted dispatches, and communicated it to earl Cornwallis; and he had also received similar information from the ministry in England. Sir George Rodney, who commanded

Naval operations.

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commanded the British fleet in the West Indies, seems also to have been convinced that such was the count de Grasse's intention, and that the bay of Chesapeake was the place where he might be expected. Advices to this effect were dispatched by him to the commander of the king's fleet on the coast of America, who was also advertised, that at the proper season he might expect to be reinforced by a detachment from the West India fleet, so as to enable him to meet the count de Grasse, and frustrate his intended operations. Sir George Rodney does not appear ever to have entertained the idea, that count de Grasse would proceed to North America with his whole fleet; and, indeed, the contrary was rather to be presumed, as it was natural to suppose that part of it must be detached as a convoy for the homeward bound French trade then collected at Cape François. Upon the approach of the hurricane season, sir Samuel Hood was dispatched to North America with fourteen ships of the line; which, with the fleet then at New York, it was thought would be an overmatch for any force the count de Grasse could bring, even if he should be joined by the fleet from Rhode Island. Sir Samuel Hood made the land to the southward of the Capes of Virginia on the twenty-fifth of August, and having met with none of the British frigates that were stationed to look out for him, proceeded to Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the twenty-eighth. Admiral Graves commanded on the American station, having succeeded admiral Arbuthnot as the next senior officer, upon his departure for England in the month of July, and was at this time with his fleet, consisting of seven sail of the line, in the harbour of New York. Only five of these were in readiness for sea, the two others being under repair.

repair. From the intelligence brought by sir Sa-
 muel Hood, it was conjectured that the count de
 Grasse had either by this time arrived, or would
 soon make his appearance on the American coast.
 No time could be spared to wait for the ships un-
 der repair; the five that were in readiness were
 ordered out of the harbour to join the squadron
 under sir Samuel Hood; and admiral Graves, as
 senior officer, taking the command of the whole,
 sailed from the Hook on the thirty first of August.
 Previously to his departure, intelligence had been
 received, that the French squadron under M. de
 Barras at Rhode Island had sailed on the twenty-
 fifth; so that the most sanguine expectations were
 entertained that one or other of the French squa-
 drons could not fail to be intercepted. But the
 event turned out very different from those expec-
 tations: It was not then known that the count
 de Grasse had already arrived in the Chesapeak,
 and that the fleet under his immediate command,
 exclusive of the Rhode Island squadron, consisted
 of twenty-eight ships of the line. The count de
 Grasse arrived in the Chesapeak, on the thirtieth
 of August, and was immediately joined by an
 officer from the marquis de la Fayette's army, who
 had been for some time waiting at Cape Henry in
 expectation of his arrival, to communicate to him
 the state of things in Virginia, and the posts oc-
 cupied by lord Cornwallis's army. In consequence
 of the information received from this officer, mea-
 sures were immediately taken for blocking up
 York River, on the banks of which lord Corn-
 wallis had taken post, and for conveying up James
 River the French land force brought from the
 West Indies, that it might form a junction with
 the troops under the marquis de la Fayette. In
 these services four of the count de Grasse's line-
 of-

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The French
 fleet under
 count de
 Grasse ar-
 rives in the
 Chesapeak.

CHAP. of-battle ships and several frigates were employed ;
 XLIV. and with the rest he remained at anchor in Lynha-
 ven Bay, just within the capes.

1781.

Partial ac-
 tion be-
 tween the
 count de
 Grasse and
 admiral
 Graves.

In the mean time admiral Graves having examined the entrance of the Delaware by means of his frigates, and finding no enemy to be there, proceeded on to the Capes of Virginia, in sight of which he arrived on the morning of the fifth of September. His advanced frigates speedily announced by signal the appearance of an enemy's fleet at anchor within the capes ; and the wind being very fair, the British fleet entered to offer it battle. As soon as the count de Grasse perceived that the fleet about to enter the bay was the British fleet, and not the Rhode Island squadron which he expected, he gave orders for his ships to slip their cables, and form the line promiscuously as they could get up, with their heads to the eastward ; that by getting out of the capes he might have more sea-room, and be able to avail himself of his superiority in numbers. The British fleet having stretched in, and its rear being now nearly even with the enemy's van, the admiral made the signal for the whole fleet to wear, by which manœuvre it was put upon the same tack with the enemy, and lay to windward in a line nearly parallel to them. Both fleets were now steering to the eastward, and getting clear of the capes, the British fleet bearing down upon the enemy as it advanced. At four in the afternoon a partial action commenced between the van and part of the centre of the two fleets, which continued until night put an end to it. The French van appeared to be considerably worsted, as it was obliged to bear away, in order to give an opportunity to the centre to advance to its support : But no ship on either side was taken. Admiral Graves preserved

preserved the weather-gage during the night, and intended to have renewed the battle next morning, until he found, from the report of the captains, that several of his ships were so much disabled, as not to be in a condition to engage until their damages were repaired. Nevertheless, the two fleets continued in sight of each other for five days, and were at some times very near. The French, although it was several times in their option, from having gained the wind, shewed no inclination to renew the action; and it was not in the British admiral's power, from the crippled state of his fleet, to compel them. At length the count de Grasse, on the tenth, bore away for the Chesapeak, and the next day anchored within the capes. Upon his arrival he had the satisfaction to find that M. de Barras had got into the Chesapeak in safety, whilst the two fleets were at sea, bringing with him fourteen transports laden with heavy artillery and all sorts of military stores proper for carrying on a siege. The loss of men on board the British fleet in this action amounted to ninety killed and two hundred and forty-six wounded. The whole of the van division under admiral Drake had suffered considerable damages in their masts, sails, and rigging: But the Terrible proved so leaky after the action, that on the eleventh it was found necessary to abandon her. Her people, provisions, and stores, being taken out, she was set on fire, and burnt. The French accounts make their loss in this action amount to about two hundred and twenty men, including four officers killed and eighteen wounded. Admiral Graves, after reconnoitring the position of the French fleet upon their return to the Chesapeak, and finding that they blocked up the entrance, determined, in pursuance of the advice of a council of war, to return

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turn to New York before the equinox, and there use every means for putting his ships in the best possible state for service*.

In the mean time the commander in chief at New York, with a view of making a diversion in Connecticut, and drawing general Washington's attention that way, detached brigadier-general Arnold with a considerable force to make an attempt upon New London. The troops embarked on this expedition consisted of the thirty-eighth, fortieth, and fifty-fourth regiments, the third battalion of New Jersey volunteers, the loyal Americans, the American legion, some refugees, a detachment of yagers, and another of the royal artillery. They passed through the Sound in transports, and landed in the morning of the sixth of September, about three miles from New London, in two divisions, one on each side of the harbour. That on the Groton side, consisting of the fortieth and fifty-fourth regiments, the third battalion of New Jersey volunteers, with a detachment of yagers and artillery, was commanded by lieutenant-colonel Eyre, and that on the New London side, consisting of the rest of the troops,

* The reader is requested to run his eye over the Plan of this action, by which it will appear, that the advantages arising from the situation of the French were not improved as they might have been; for when the British fleet arrived, under a very favourable and leading wind, the French fleet was lying promiscuously at anchor; they were obliged to slip their cables, and seven of them stretched across, and stood out to sea from the rest of their fleet: The remainder was obliged to make several tacks in working out of the bay. It was very generally said, that had the British fleet continued its course, the wind still being as favourable as it could blow, the seven French ships so advanced must have been cut off from the rest of their fleet. But for some reason, which has never been explained, the British admiral hauled his wind. The advance of the British becoming their rear, the fleet stood out to sea, and were followed by the French. In a short time the action commenced.

by

by brigadier-general Arnold. On the New London side no great opposition was made: A redoubt, from which the enemy had begun a cannonade, was abandoned by them upon the approach of general Arnold with part of his division; and soon afterwards Fort Trumbull, that commanded the harbour, was entered by captain Millet at the head of four companies of the thirty-eighth regiment, through a shower of grape-shot which the enemy discharged from their cannon, but without doing much mischief, only four or five being killed or wounded in the assault. General Arnold lost no time in taking possession of New London: He was opposed by a small body of the enemy with a field-piece; but they were soon so hard pressed as to be obliged to fly, and leave their piece of artillery behind. On the Groton side of the harbour was Fort Griswold, a regular work of considerable strength. It was assaulted on three sides by the fortieth and fifty-fourth regiments, under lieutenant-colonel Eyre, and defended by the enemy with the most obstinate bravery.

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New London taken
by general
Arnold.

At length the gallant efforts of the assailants were successful; and with fixed bayonets they entered the works through the embrasures, in the face of the enemy, who were armed with long spears to oppose them. A considerable carnage now ensued, until the enemy were driven from the ramparts, and had ceased from all farther resistance. The honour obtained by the British troops in this assault was great, but too dearly purchased. Two officers, and forty-six soldiers, were killed, and eight officers, with one hundred and thirty five soldiers, wounded. General Arnold, upon his landing, had been informed that the works at Fort Griswold were incomplete, and

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its garrison inconsiderable: But when he arrived at New London, and, from an eminence, had viewed its great strength, he dispatched an officer to countermand his orders for an assault, who unfortunately reached colonel Eyre a few minutes too late. The fort had refused to surrender, and the action was begun. Of the garrison eighty-five were killed, including colonel Ladyard, their commander; sixty were wounded, most of them mortally, and seventy made prisoners. Ten or twelve of the enemy's ships were burnt, that contained an immense quantity of European and West India goods. Unluckily they also contained some gunpowder, unknown to general Arnold, by the explosion of which the flames were communicated to the dwelling-houses in the town; and a great part of it was consumed, notwithstanding every endeavour to stop the progress of the conflagration. Upwards of fifty pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of military stores found in the different works, were also destroyed*

* Return of Ordnance, &c. taken in Fort Griswold and its Dependencies.

In Fort Griswold: Iron ordnance, mounted on carriages, 1 eighteen-pounder, 14 twelve-pounders, 2 nine-pounders, 1 six-pounder, 1 four-pounder, 1 three pounder. Travelling: 1 twelve-pounder, 2 four-pounders. In the Fleche; travelling, 3 four-pounders. On the lower battery, 7 eighteen-pounders, 2 twelve-pounders. Total of iron ordnance, 35.—Musquets, French, 106.—Pikes, 80.—Round shot, 1680 eighteen-pounders, 2100 twelve-pounders, 290 nine-pounders, 100 six-pounders, 200 four-pounders, 40 three pounders.—Grape shot, 230 eighteen-pounders, 340 twelve-pounders, 75 nine-pounders, 70 six-pounders, 90 four-pounders, 75 three-pounders. Cartridges, filled, 12 eighteen-pounders, 23 twelve-pounders, 8 nine-pounders, 4 six pounders, 14 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders.—Musquet cartridges 10,000; powder, corned, 150 cwt. spare carriages, 1 garrison thirty-two pounder a travelling twelve-pounder, two ammunition waggons, stores for laboratory, &c.

Return

Return of Ordnance found and spiked on the New London side.

Nine iron eighteen-ponnders, mounted at Fort Trumbull, 6 six-pounders at ditto, 6 twelve or nine pounders, mounted at Fort Folly; 2 ditto dismounted; 1 twelve-pounder on the road to New London. Total 24.

In Fort Trumbull, 14 eighteen, and three six-pounders.

A quantity of ammunition and stores of different kinds was destroyed in the magazine at Fort Trumbull, and at the meeting-house in New London.

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The Confederate Armies arrive at Williamsburgh in Virginia—Lord Cornwallis vindicated from the Charges of Colonel Tarleton—The Combined Armies encamp before York Town—York Town regularly invested—Surrendered to General Washington—Efforts of Sir H. Clinton for the Relief of Lord Cornwallis—Recapture of St. Eustatius—Successful Cruise of Admiral Kempenfelt.

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ALTHOUGH the damage done to the Americans by this attack upon New London was immense, it was not of sufficient importance to stop general Washington in his progress to Virginia. The enterprize in which he was now engaged was of the utmost moment. If successful, it would have material influence in shortening the duration of the war, and was not therefore to be abandoned for any partial consideration whatsoever. The combined armies, after passing through Philadelphia, marched to the head of Elk River, which falls into the Chesapeake at its interior extremity. Transports from the French fleet were sent thither to receive them, and by the twenty-fifth of September the whole were landed in the neighbourhood of Williamsburgh, and joined the troops under the marquis de la Fayette and monsieur de St. Simon. General Washington, and the count de Rochambeau, with their suites, left the army upon its arrival at the head of Elk, and proceeded by land to Williamsburgh, where they arrived

The confederate armies arrive at Williamsburgh in Virginia.

arrived on the 14th. They immediately repaired on board the *Ville de Paris*, to wait upon the count de Grasse; and at this meeting a council of war was held, in which the plan of their future operations was finally settled and agreed upon.

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About this time a party of North Carolina loyalists, to the number of six hundred and forty, under the command of Macneil, a colonel of militia, surprised Hillsborough, surrounded a church where a body of continentals were stationed, and took about two hundred prisoners, among whom was Mr. Burke, the governor of North Carolina, his council, two colonels, four or five captains, five subalterns, together with several other men of rank; and released sixty men that were in gaol on account of their fidelity and attachment to the British government. On their return they were attacked by a body of about three hundred of the enemy, who lay in ambush near the banks of the *Rain Creek*. An action took place, in which the loyalists suffered the loss of their colonel Macneil, and captain Doud, killed, and several other officers, with twenty privates, wounded; but in which, now under the command of Macdougald, they forced the enemy to leave the field, with the loss of one colonel and one major killed, and thirty-seven rank and file wounded. The loyalists then proceeded on their march with governor Burke and the other prisoners, till they arrived, on the seventeenth, at a place called *Raft Swamp*, where they were joined by a small party of friends under colonel Kay. Before their junction with this party, they were so much reduced as scarcely to be sufficient for guarding the prisoners. They had offered to liberate Burke on his parole; but he would not accept this favour, hoping to be retaken by general Butler, who was marching with his army with all possible speed, down *Cape Fear River*.

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River in pursuit of the loyalists. Soon afterwards Macdougald, with his party, arrived at Wilmington, and delivered his prisoners to major Craig, the governor.

Whilst that powerful combination between the French and Americans was forming, earl Cornwallis took every opportunity of communicating to the commander in chief at New York the danger of his situation, in consequence of the French fleet having taken possession of the bay: And from him he received assurances, bearing date the sixth of September, that he would join him with four thousand troops, who were then embarked, as soon as the admiral should be of opinion that he might venture. He was also informed that admiral Digby was upon the coast, and daily expected to arrive, with a reinforcement of ships and troops. In the mean time the troops under his lordship were busily employed in fortifying York, the works at which having been begun later than those on the opposite side, and being also more extensive, were not in the same state of forwardness. It has been suggested * that about this period, that is, between the time of the junction of the French reinforcement from the West Indies, with the marquis de la Fayette, and the arrival of the confederate army from the head of Elk, lord Cornwallis ought to have attacked the former of these corps after their junction, and while they lay at Williamsburgh, and that he had a sufficient force to have attempted it with every prospect of success.

Lord Cornwallis vindicated from the charges of colonel Tarleton.

But lord Cornwallis's character for enterprise, of which his conduct during all his campaigns in America affords the strongest evidence, forbids even a suspicion that any opportunity of striking a blow at the enemy was lost, which could have

* Tarleton, p. 367, &c.

been

been embraced, consistently with the orders under which he acted, the instructions he had received, and the intelligence which had been from time to time forwarded to him. It has also been said * that if this measure was not thought eligible, in that case he ought to have abandoned York Town, and returned with his army to South Carolina. But it ought to be recollected, that, some little time before this, he had been made acquainted with the commander in chief's design of commencing solid operations in the Chesapeake, as soon as the season of the year would permit: And if he had at this time withdrawn his army from Virginia, that plan of operation, which he also knew was agreeable to the wishes of the British ministry, must have been entirely frustrated. With this information before him, and with even a conditional assurance of relief, he would scarcely have been justifiable in taking a step that would have been attended with such a consequence, except under circumstances of a more pressing necessity than yet existed. Besides this, by his march to Carolina, he must have abandoned and given up to the enemy, a considerable quantity of artillery, the ships of war, transports, provisions, stores, and hospitals, with the sick and wounded. It seems, therefore, under all the circumstances, that such a step at that time could not have been justified: And had he attacked the marquis de la Fayette, previously to the arrival of Washington and Rochambeau, he must have greatly impeded the progress of the works at York, by drawing off the troops employed upon them, from whose unremitting labour during the month of September, they were in greater forwardness by the time the combined army assembled at Williamsburgh than

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* Tarleton, p. 369.

could

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The combined armies encamped before York Town.

could have been expected, although they were not even then nearly finished. The works constructing for the defence of York were of two kinds; the one for the immediate defence of the town, and the other a range of redoubts and field-works at some distance from it, calculated to impede the enemy's approach.

In this untoward position the British troops were stationed, when the combined army of French and Americans appeared in sight of York, on the twenty eighth of September, having marched from Williamsburgh that morning. They encamped that night about two miles from the works, and the next morning were seen extending themselves towards the left of the British army, but at a cautious distance. The latter wished to be attacked, but the enemy appeared disposed to proceed with great circumspection. Nothing material happened on this day, either within or without the lines, until the evening, when an express arrived with dispatches from the commander in chief at New York, bearing date the twenty-fourth of September. In these Earl Cornwallis was informed, that at a council held that day, between the general and flag officers, it was agreed that upward of five thousand troops should be embarked on board the king's ships; that every exertion would be made, both by the army and navy, to relieve him; and that the fleet, consisting of twenty-three sail of the line, might be expected to sail by the fifth of October; And in a postscript his lordship was advertised, that admiral Digby, with three more ships of the line, had just arrived at Sandy Hook. Upon the receipt of these dispatches, lord Cornwallis in the night withdrew his army within the works of the town, in full expectation of being able to hold both the posts of York and Gloucester until the promised relief arrived,

arrived, provided it came within any reasonable time. The works abandoned by the British troops were occupied the next day by detachments from the combined army: The same day the town was regularly invested; and in the night the enemy began to break ground, the French making their approaches on the right of it, and the Americans on the left, the extremities of the two armies meeting at a morass in front of the centre of the British works. The same day the Duke de Lauzun, with his legion, and a body of Virginia militia under general Weedon, took a position in front of the other British post at Gloucester Town, and kept it from that time blockaded. In the night of the sixth of October the enemy made their first parallel at the distance of six hundred yards from the British works, and by the afternoon of the ninth, their batteries were completed, which immediately opened upon the town. From this time an incessant cannonade was kept up: And the continued discharge of shot and shells from a number of heavy cannon and mortars, in a few days damaged the unfinished works on the left of the town, silenced the guns that were mounted on them, and occasioned the loss of a great number of men. In the night of the eleventh, the enemy, with indefatigable perseverance, opened their second parallel three hundred yards nearer to the works than at first. In the mean time the garrison did every thing in their power to interrupt them in their work, by opening new embrasures for guns, and keeping up a constant fire with all the howitzers and small mortars they could man; and about this time, the loss of men sustained by the enemy was more considerable than at any other period during the siege. They were particularly annoyed and impeded in their approaches by two redoubts, advanced about three hundred

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York Town
regularly
invested.

CHAP. hundred yards in front of the British works.
 XLV. These they resolved to assault; and to excite a
 1781 spirit of emulation, the reduction of the one was
 committed to the French, of the other to the
 Americans. The attempt was made in the night
 of the fourteenth, and in both instances succeed-
 ed; and by the unwearied labour of the enemy,
 both redoubts were included in their second pa-
 rallel before the morning. The British troops
 having been weakened by sickness, as well as by
 the fire of the besiegers, lord Cornwallis could
 not venture to make so large forties as to hope
 from them much success: But at the present crisis
 some attempt of that sort became necessary, in
 order to retard the opening of the enemy's batte-
 ries in their second parallel, against the fire of
 which, it was foreseen that the British works on
 the left, already half ruined, could not stand
 many hours. A fortie of three hundred and fi-
 ty men, under the direction of lieutenant-colonel
 Abercrombie, was therefore ordered against two
 of the enemy's batteries, that seemed in the
 greatest state of forwardness. A detachment of
 the guards, with the eightieth company of grena-
 diers, under the command of lieutenant-colonel
 Lake, of the guards, was ordered to attack the
 one; and a detachment of light infantry, under
 the command of major Armstrong, was to attack
 the other. The two detachments accordingly sal-
 lied forth a little before day-break of the sixteenth
 of October, forced the redoubts that covered the
 batteries, spiked eleven heavy cannon, and, after
 killing or wounding about one hundred of the
 French troops, who had the guard of this part
 of the trenches, returned within the lines with
 very little loss. But this action, although honour-
 able to the officers and soldiers who performed it,
 yielded little public advantage. The cannon,
 having

having been hastily spiked, were soon rendered fit for service; and before the evening, the whole battery and parallels appeared to be nearly complete. At this time not a gun could be shewn by the garrison on that side of the works attacked by the enemy, and the shells were nearly expended; lord Cornwallis was therefore reduced to the necessity of either preparing to surrender, or attempting to escape with the greatest part of the army; and he determined to attempt the latter, on the Gloucester side of the river, where brigadier de Choise now commanded, and lay with a small corps at some distance, in front of the works. It was determined that he should be attacked before break of day by the whole British force; and the success of the attack was not in the least doubted. The horses taken from him (for he had a considerable corps of cavalry) would in part mount the infantry, and the rest might be supplied by others collected on the road. As no baggage was to be carried, his lordship intended to have proceeded to the upper country by rapid marches, leaving his future route uncertain, until he came opposite to the fords of the great rivers; when he meant to have turned off suddenly to the northward, upon a supposition that the enemy's measures would be principally directed to prevent his escape to the southward. After turning to the northward, it was his lordship's design to force his way through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys, and join the commander in chief at New York. Undoubtedly the attempt was beyond calculation hazardous, and the issue totally precarious; but, if it afforded even a glimpse of hope, it was preferable to an immediate surrender.

In pursuance of this design the light-infantry, the greatest part of the guards, and part of the twenty-third regiment, were embarked in boats,
and

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and transported to the Gloucester side of the river before midnight, when a violent storm arose, which not only prevented the boats from returning, but drove them a considerable distance down the river. The passage of the rest of the troops was now become impracticable, and, in the absence of the boats, those that had already crossed could not possibly return. In this divided state of the British force, the enemy's batteries opened at break of day: Fortunately the boats returned soon afterwards, and brought back, in the course of the forenoon, the troops that had been carried over in the night, without much loss, although the passage between York and Gloucester was greatly exposed to the enemy's fire. In the mean time, by the force of the enemy's cannonade, the British works were tumbling into ruin: Not a gun could be fired from them, and only one eight-inch and little more than an hundred cohorn shells remained. They were in many places assailable already; and if the same fire continued a few hours longer, it was the opinion of the engineer, and principal officers of the army, that it would be madness to attempt to maintain them with the present garrison, exhausted by the fatigue of constant watching and unremitting duty, and reduced in its numbers by sickness even more than by the enemy's fire. Under such circumstances his lordship, on the seventeenth of October, unwilling to expose the remains of his gallant army to the danger of an assault, which, from the enemy's numbers and the ruined state of the works, could not fail to be successful, made proposals for a capitulation. The terms were adjusted in the course of the next day, which, though not altogether agreeable to earl Cornwallis's wishes or proposals, were, nevertheless, such as his desperate situation, obliged him to accept; and on the nineteenth the posts

posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered to general Washington as commander in chief of the combined army ; and the ships of war, transports, and other vessels, to the count de Grasse, as commander of the French fleet. By the articles of capitulation, the garrison of York and Gloucester, including the officers of the navy and seamen of every denomination, were to surrender as prisoners of war to the combined army : The land force to remain prisoners to the United States, and the seamen to the most christian king. The garrison was to be allowed the same honours which the garrison of Charlestown had obtained when it surrendered to sir Henry Clinton. The officers and soldiers were permitted to retain their private property ; and the officers had liberty to proceed upon parole either to Europe, or any maritime port on the continent of America in the possession of the British troops. Although the article for exempting from punishment such of the natives or other inhabitants of America as had joined the British army, and were then at York, was rejected by general Washington, the same thing was in effect obtained in a different form, by the permission granted to earl Cornwallis to send the Bonetta sloop of war to New York with his dispatches without being searched, and with as many soldiers on board as he should think fit, so that they were accounted for in any future exchange. By this permission he was tacitly empowered to send off such of the inhabitants as were obnoxious to punishment ; which accordingly was done.

By the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester the Americans became possessed of a large train of artillery, many of which were of brass, together with a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition, warlike stores, and provisions ; and to the French were delivered up one frigate,

two

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Surrendered to general Washington.

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two ships of war of twenty guns, and a number of transports and other vessels. The Charon, of forty-four guns, and another ship of war, were set on fire by the enemy's shells, and destroyed during the siege. The combined army consisted of seven thousand French and nearly the same number of continental soldiers, and about five thousand militia. On the day previous to the surrender, the rank and file of the garrisons of York and Gloucester amounted to five thousand nine hundred and fifty; but so great was the number of the sick and wounded, that only four thousand and seventeen were reported fit for duty.

Efforts of
sir Henry
Clinton for
the relief of
lord Corn-
wallis.

In the mean time sir Henry Clinton had draughted from the garrison at New York a corps of seven thousand of his best troops, with which he proposed to embark on board the king's ships, and impatiently waited for the moment when the fleet would be ready to sail. He had already informed lord Cornwallis, that it was hoped the fleet would "start from New York about the fifth of October;" and afterwards, from the assurances given him by the admiral, that it might pass the Bar by the twelfth, if the winds permitted, and no unforeseen accident happened: But the fleet did not finally leave Sandy Hook until the nineteenth, the day on which lord Cornwallis surrendered. The commander in chief embarked with the troops, as he had proposed, and the event of the siege not being then known, both the navy and army put to sea with a determined resolution to make the most vigorous efforts for the relief of earl Cornwallis, and with confident hopes that those efforts would be attended with the most complete success. It was, therefore, with extreme mortification, when they arrived off the Capes of Virginia on the twenty fourth, that they received accounts which led them to suspect that earl Cornwallis

Cornwallis had already capitulated. They however remained off the mouth of the Chesapeake until the twenty-ninth. The intelligence received during this interval was so uniform in its tendency, that no doubt at last remained about the issue of the siege. It was apparent, that the British armament had arrived too late to afford earl Cornwallis the promised relief; and as that relief was the sole object of the expedition, the admiral determined to return to New York. The British fleet at this time consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, two fifty-gun ships, and eight frigates: That of the French amounted to thirty-six sail of the line, besides frigates. Unfortunately, the letter written by earl Cornwallis to the commander in chief, acquainting him with the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester, and narrating the causes that led to that event, with the motives that influenced his own conduct, produced a difference between them, which terminated in an appeal to the public. Such was the fate of the army; which, if success were the uniform result of merit, would have undoubtedly shared a different fate: If bravery in the field; and patient, and even cheerful, submission to fatigue, inclement skies, and the want not only of the comforts, but sometimes even of the necessaries of life *, have any claim to esteem and admiration. It has been observed, and justly, that in almost all the general actions to the northward, the troops under sir William Howe were superior in number to those under general Washington; but, on the contrary,

* The writer of this narrative relates these things from his own knowledge. The southern army had no provision in the field but what passed through his hands. Their allowance frequently scanty, and generally bad. The army under lord Cornwallis, in marches and counter-marches, marched above 1500 miles.

CHAP. in every general action to the southward, the ene-
 XLV. my greatly outnumbered the British either under
 1781. lord Cornwallis or lord Rawdon.

Recapture
 of St. Eusta-
 tius.

The misfortune that happened in Virginia was soon afterwards followed by another in the West Indies, which, although not of equal magnitude, was the cause of much discontent, as it seemed to have arisen from gross negligence or still greater misconduct. This was the recapture of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius by the marquis de Bouillé. The marquis having received minute information, by means of some of the traders, of the state of the island, together with the carelessness of the governor, he determined to attempt the reduction of it by surprise. It has been already noticed, that the island of St. Eustatius might be considered as a natural fortification, with only one safe landing-place, where the town stood, and which was protected by a fort. But at the back of the island were also some small bays, where a landing might be effected in very moderate weather, although at all times accompanied with considerable risk and danger. Of one of these, which had been left unguarded, the marquis de Bouillé had received intelligence; and there he determined to attempt a descent. Having embarked about two thousand men in a number of small vessels, he sailed from Martinique, and took his measures so as to arrive before the place, where he proposed to land early in the night. So hazardous was the attempt, that in embarking, many of the boats were dashed to pieces, and a number of soldiers lost; and with all the efforts he could make not more than four hundred men were landed by an hour before day-light; and as almost the whole of the boats were by this time dashed
 to

to pieces, no hopes remained of being able to land the rest. As the troops which had been landed were not equal in number to the garrison, the marquis de Bouillé was sensible that nothing but a bold attempt to take the fort by surprise could possibly succeed. He accordingly put his troops in motion, and marched with the utmost expedition towards the fort, distant about six miles. The way to it was not only difficult, but intersected by a defile where a handful of men might have stopped an army. But in his situation every risk was to be run. His retreat being cut off, nothing but success could possibly save him and his troops from destruction or captivity. A discharge of musquetry from the French at a division of the British troops, which was seen exercising in a field at some distance from the fort, gave the first alarm to the garrison. Those who were in quarters immediately hurried to the fort, and so loaded the draw-bridge, that it could not be raised until the enemy arrived, and entered with them. Lieutenant-colonel Cockburn the governor, who had been taking an early ride according to custom, seeing some strange vessels off the island, took the alarm and returned; but the French in the mean time had reached the town, and made him prisoner before he dismounted*.

Thus was the island of St Eustatius reduced by the marquis de Bouillé on the morning of the twenty-sixth of November, with no other loss than ten soldiers killed and wounded. With the island

* Lieutenant-colonel Cockburn, a native of Aberdeen, was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and found guilty of culpable neglect in not taking the necessary precautions for the defence of the island, notwithstanding he had received the fullest intelligence of an intended attack.

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Successful
cruise of
admiral
Kempen-
feldt.

the conquerors became possessed of a large sum of money, estimated at two millions of livres, being the produce of the late sales of prizes. Whilst St. Eustatius was in the possession of Great Britain, some pains had been taken to fortify it. Sixty-eight pieces of artillery were mounted for its defence, and the garrison consisted of two regiments, mustering six hundred and seventy-seven men. The dependent islands of St. Martin's and Saba were attacked immediately afterwards, and shared the same fate as St. Eustatius.

After all these misfortunes, the year 1781 closed with a successful cruise of admiral Kempenfeldt in the European seas. Information had been received in England, that a large convoy of transports with troops, and of store-ships and provision vessels, was getting ready at Brest, and to sail in the month of December, the greatest part of it being destined for the fleet under the count de Grasse, and the remainder for M. de Suffrein's squadron in the East Indies; and the whole to be convoyed a certain distance by a fleet of ships of war under the command of the count de Guichen. To cruise for and endeavour to intercept this fleet and convoy, admiral Kempenfeldt was dispatched in the beginning of December with twelve ships of the line, a fifty gun ship, four frigates, and a fire-ship, being all that were then in readiness for sea. On the twelfth of that month he fortunately got sight of them in a hard gale of wind, when the French fleet was much dispersed, and the convoy considerably astern. The admiral determined to profit by the enemy's accidental situation, and by carrying a press of sail to endeavour to cut off their convoy; in which attempt he in part succeeded. A considerable number of prizes were taken, fifteen of which arrived safe in British ports, while some that had struck afterwards escaped in

the night. Two or three were said to have been sunk; and many others lost their voyages in consequence of the great dispersion of the convoy that necessarily ensued. In the mean time the count de Guichen was collecting his ships, and forming the line. Towards the evening the British admiral found it necessary to do the same; and, after taking measures for keeping his fleet connected, went upon the same tack with the enemy, intending to engage them in the morning. But when day light appeared, and he saw the French fleet to leeward, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, and two others armed en flute, he did not think it prudent to risk an engagement; and contenting himself with endeavouring to secure the prizes already made, returned with his fleet to Portsmouth. The *Agamemnon*, however, and the frigate *la Prudente*, were detached to follow the French fleet, with a view of capturing any of the convoy that might chance to be separated. It does not appear that they met with any success in this design; but on the twenty-fifth of December they made prize of five large ships bound from Bourdeaux to Martinique, which were destined to join the convoy under the count de Guichen. The prizes carried to England had on board near eleven hundred land forces, and between six and seven hundred seamen. They were almost all freighted on the French King's account, and were chiefly laden with brass and iron ordnance, gunpowder, small arms, flints, bomb-shells, cannon-balls, and a vast variety of other ordnance and military stores. Some of them were laden with cables, sail-cloth, and cordage; and others with wine, oil, brandy, rum, flour, biscuit, and salted provisions. From the nature of the lading with which these ships were freighted, the importance of the capture is very apparent; and fortunately for the

H h 2

safety

CHAP. XLV. safety of the British West India islands, the remainder of the French convoy, that escaped being taken, was so shattered and disabled by stormy weather, that only a few of them, accompanied by two ships of war, were able to hold on their course and join de Grasse. The rest put back to repair their damages.

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*Effects of the Capture of Lord Cornwallis's Army—
Meeting of Parliament—Siege of Fort St. Philip's
in the Island of Minorca—Capitulation of Fort St.
Philip's—Reduction of the Island of St. Christo-
pher's—General Carleton appointed Commander in
Chief in America instead of Sir Henry Clinton—
Naval Engagement between Admiral Rodney and
the Count de Grasse—Prosperity of British Affairs
in the East Indies—Conduct of the new Adminis-
tration—Repulse and Discomfiture of the Spaniards
and French before Gibraltar—Relief of Gib-
raltar.*

AFTER so many defeats and losses to which CHAP.
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the arms of congress had been subjected for 1782.
several years past, so brilliant an event as the cap- Effects of
the capture
of lord
Cornwal-
lis's army.
ture of a whole army, and at its head a comman-
der who was esteemed one of the bravest and most
enterprising of their foes, could not fail to give
them the most heart-felt satisfaction, and was ac-
cordingly celebrated with suitable rejoicings and
every other demonstration that could serve to con-
vey to the people a proper idea of its importance.
By such means the authority of congress, which
had begun to be shaken, was again established; the
clamours of those who had become tired of the
war, and wished for peace upon almost any terms,
were silenced; the desponding were re-assured;
the active and zealous invigorated; and all classes,
for a time, reconciled to bear their present distresses
with patience, in the hope that so signal an advan-
tage

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tage would speedily operate their relief. But greatly as the views of congress were forwarded by the influence of this event upon the people of the revolted colonies, the benefits thence derived were inconsiderable compared with those that sprung from the effects produced by it upon the people of Great Britain. The sums raised by parliament for the support of the war, which seemed to increase every year of its continuance, were already so immense, that the public burdens imposed for the payment of the interest were nearly insupportable. The murmurs of the people had been hitherto suppressed, from the hopes held out of a speedy and successful termination of the war; and with the recovery of the revolted colonies, accompanied by the monopoly of their trade, they were taught to expect such an influx of wealth as would speedily compensate for the present extraordinary expenditure. But after the events of the last campaign, no one could be found so sanguine as to expect that the revolted colonies could be recovered by force of arms. The experience of nearly six years served to shew, that although a province might be over-run and subdued, it could not be secured and preserved without the concurrence of the inhabitants: And the war waged in the southern colonies for two years past, established the fact beyond contradiction. Although Georgia had been completely reduced, and civil government re-established: Although all resistance had ceased in South Carolina, and a general submission taken place among the inhabitants: Although the British commanders in those provinces had been uniformly successful in all general actions they fought, and had not in a single instance been defeated: Yet Charlestown and Savannah, the two capitals, with a few dependent posts,

posts, were all that at this time remained to Great Britain of those extensive provinces. These facts naturally led to this inference, that it was madness to persist in an expensive war, in which even success failed to produce its natural consequences. Such were the sentiments beginning to prevail amongst the people, when the parliament met on the twenty-seventh of November of the preceding year. In the king's speech the losses in America were neither dissimulated nor palliated; but stated as a ground for requiring the firm support of parliament, and a more vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and resources of the people; whilst his majesty, at the same time, expressed his determined resolution to persevere in the defence of his dominions until such a pacification could be made as might consist with the honour of his crown and the permanent interest and security of his people. An address of thanks being moved for in the usual form, was violently combated by the opposition, under an idea, that if they agreed to it, they bound themselves to support his Majesty in prosecuting the American war; and an amendment of a different tendency was offered by Mr. Fox. But the amendment was rejected, and the address carried in its original form by a considerable majority of two hundred and eighteen against one hundred and twenty-nine. In the course of this debate, although the ministers did not seem to be perfectly agreed amongst themselves, it appeared to be their determination no longer to carry on the war internally in the colonies, but to keep possession of those posts which they at present held, and direct their principal efforts against France, Spain, and Holland.

This disclosure of a change in the mode of conducting the war, although it must have operated

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Meeting of
parliament.

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as a relief to the colonies, gave no satisfaction to the opposition, who maintained that the general voice of the nation demanded a peace with America; whereas the ministry still avowed the design of carrying on that war, and had only varied the form. The opposition now looked forward with eager expectation to the æra of the dissolution of that ministry which had so long successfully withstood their rudest attacks. The misfortunes of the last campaign gave them advantages which all the influence and power of the administration were unable to surmount. By this time the American war was generally disrelished amongst the people; and by the opposition it was reprobated, together with the incapacity and misconduct of ministers, as the cause of all our misfortunes. The prosecution of it, unfortunate as it had been, was still supposed to be a favourite measure with the court. The opposition, on the other hand, loudly maintained, that to put an end to it was the only means of saving the nation from bankruptcy and ruin: And upon this ground, the strongest they could adopt, as being that on which they expected to be supported by the nation, they continued to harass and distress administration by a succession of motions in the house of commons, until at last, on the twenty-seventh of February, they succeeded in carrying a vote for addressing his Majesty to direct his ministers no longer to wage an offensive war against the revolted colonies, and to assure him that they would most cheerfully concur in such measures as may be found necessary to accelerate the blessing of returning peace. This victory gained by the opposition with a majority of two hundred and thirty-four against two hundred and fifteen, was considered as a prelude to the dissolution of the old administration, which accordingly, about the end
of

February.

of March, gave place to a new one, formed under the auspices of the marquis of Rockingham. The cabinet, including the marquis as first commissioner of the treasury, was composed of the earl of Shelburn and Mr. Fox, appointed secretaries of state; lord Camden, president of the council; the duke of Grafton, privy seal; lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; admiral Keppel, first commissioner of the admiralty; general Conway, commander in chief of the forces; the duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance; colonel Barré, treasurer of the navy; and Mr. Burke, paymaster-general.

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During these contentions for power, between the old administration and those who succeeded them, the intelligence that arrived of new misfortunes and losses sustained abroad in the beginning of the present year, undoubtedly served to hasten the overthrow of the former, and to complete the triumph of the latter. It may be remembered, that in the preceding year a joint expedition having been planned by France and Spain against the island of Minorca, an armament fitted out at Cadiz was landed upon the island on the twentieth of August, which was soon afterwards joined by a considerable body of French troops from Toulon. The duke de Crillon commanded the expedition: He carried with him an immense artillery of one hundred and nine pieces of the heaviest cannon, and thirty-six mortars, for the siege of Fort St. Philip's; and after the junction of the French, his army amounted to sixteen thousand men. General Murray, an officer of undoubted bravery and great experience, commanded at Minorca: The garrison consisted of about two thousand seven hundred men, four hundred of whom were invalids sent from England in the year 1775; but the works of St. Philip's Castle were so numerous and

Siege of
Fort St.
Philip's
in the island
of Minorca.

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Capitulati-
on of Fort
St. Philip's.

and extensive, that the garrison did not amount to half the number which would have been necessary completely to man them. Notwithstanding this weakness, the defence of the place was brave and spirited, and suitable to the high military character of the officer who commanded. For three months after the commencement of the siege, the enemy made scarcely any impression on the works, and did little injury to the garrison; but after they had finished their batteries, and mounted all their guns and mortars; the fire from so tremendous an artillery began to damage the upper works of the castle, and rendered a number of the guns mounted upon them unserviceable. Still, however, the body of the works remained uninjured, and the garrison not much diminished. But, about this time, a most inveterate scurvy began to prevail amongst the troops, which, baffling all medical skill, by the beginning of February had spread so widely, that of the whole garrison only six hundred and sixty were capable of bearing arms. Under these circumstances general Murray was reduced to the necessity of capitulating. In the articles of capitulation every thing was granted that he required, except the clause for freeing the garrison from being prisoners, to which the duke de Crillon was prohibited from consenting by a special instruction of the king of Spain; but in order to soften the rigour of this instruction, the troops were allowed to be sent to Great Britain, under the customary condition of not serving until they were regularly exchanged. The terms of capitulation having been settled, St. Philip's Castle was surrendered on the fifth of February: And thus the island of Minorca was restored to the crown of Spain, after it had been in the possession of Great Britain about seventy-four years. The whole loss of the garrison, in killed and wounded, during

during the siege, amounted to two hundred and eight: Of these fifty-nine were killed, and one hundred and forty nine wounded.

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Nearly about the same time the island of St. Christopher's in the West Indies was reduced by the marquis de Bouillé. After the return of the count de Grasse with his fleet from North America, an expedition was planned between him and the marquis de Bouillé against the island of Barbadoes, in consequence of which the latter embarked with eight thousand troops, and the fleet sailed from Martinique on the twenty-eighth of December. By contrary winds it was driven greatly to leeward, and as Barbadoes was to windward of Martinique, and much time would be lost in beating up, the French commanders determined to change the object of the expedition, and proceed against the island of St. Christopher's, where the troops were landed on the eleventh of January. Brigadier-general Fraser, a brave old officer who commanded the few British troops that were in the island, finding himself totally unable to oppose the landing of the French, took post with his little garrison upon Brimstone Hill, where he was joined by governor Shirley with some militia of the island. The regular force under Fraser consisted of the first battalion of the first regiment, the two flank companies of the fifteenth, and a detachment of the royal artillery, the whole amounting to six hundred men. The militia who joined him with governor Shirley, were about three hundred. Brimstone Hill, where he took post, was a place of great natural strength, from its height and inaccessibility: Some works had been erected upon the top of it, but in no respect suitable to the natural strength and importance of the place. The French, having landed, immediately began to invest Brimstone Hill, whilst the count de Grasse with

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Reduction
of the island
of St. Chris-
topher's.

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XLVI. to cover the siege. Sir Samuel Hood, who in the
1782. absence of sir George Rodney commanded the
British fleet in the West Indies, and was then at
Barbadoes, having received intelligence of the
destination of the French armament, sailed with
his fleet for the relief of St. Christopher's, where
he arrived in the evening of the twenty-third of
January. The next morning at dawn he be-
gan to form his line, with a view of bearing
down and attacking the French fleet at an-
chor. His own fleet consisted of only twenty-
two ships of the line: That of the count de
Grasse amounted to thirty-two; but even with
this inferiority, relying on the superior skill and
valour of British seamen, he determined to make
a bold attempt for the relief of the island. From
the circumstance of two of his ships running foul
of each other, he was prevented from executing
his design on that day; and in the mean time he
took a French frigate from Martinique, loaded
with ordnance stores for the siege of Brimstone
Hill, the capture of which greatly delayed the
enemy in making their approaches. The next
morning the British fleet having formed the line,
advanced to the attack. The count de Grasse, on
perceiving their design, left his anchorage ground
and stood out to sea, with a view of obtaining room
to avail himself of his superiority in number. Sir
Samuel Hood immediately saw the advantage to
be gained from this movement of the enemy, and
still preserving the appearance of an attack, in
order to draw them farther from the land, at last
pushed by them with full sail, and took possession
of the anchorage which they had quitted. The
count de Grasse attempted to cut off the British
rear; but commodore Affleck, who commanded
it, supported by his seconds, captain Cornwallis
and

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and lord Robert Manners, kept up so tremendous a fire, that he could make no impression, and with little loss to themselves, greatly covered the other ships of the division whilst getting into their stations in the anchorage-ground. Two attacks were made the next day by the count de Grasse upon the British fleet at anchor; but in both he was repulsed, and in the last with so considerable loss, that during the remainder of the siege he kept at a distance. The loss of the British fleet in these attacks amounted to seventy-two killed, and two hundred and forty-four wounded: That of the French is unknown, but it was said that they sent a thousand wounded men to St. Eustatius. The successful manœuvre practised by the British admiral of decoying the count de Grasse from the road of Basse Terre, and occupying it in his stead, produced at first flattering expectations that the island might yet be preserved. But the great superiority of the French force on shore, compared with that of the garrison, soon enabled the marquis de Bouillé to invest the fort on Brimstone Hill so closely, that all communication between it and the British fleet was entirely cut off, whilst, in consequence of the same cause, his own communication with the count de Grasse was open, by means of every other landing-place upon the island, except that of Basse Terre Road. The French, although exposed to a vigorous fire from the garrison, and considerably delayed by the capture of one of their ordnance vessels, and the loss of another, wrecked upon the rocks, continued to advance their works and prosecute the attack with unremitting industry, until they had mounted on their different batteries twenty-four large mortars, and twenty-three pieces of heavy cannon. The effect of the fire from so powerful an artillery acting upon a spot, the greatest diameter of which

was

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was not more than two hundred yards, may be easily conceived: Early in the siege, every house on the hill was either consumed or torn to pieces by the enemy's bombardment and cannonade: In the latter part of it, almost all the guns were either dismounted or disabled; and at last an entire and perfect breach was made on the north-west side of the works, which, from the want of intrenching tools, it was impossible to repair. By this time also, from the great desertion of the militia, and the number of the killed and wounded, those who remained in the garrison, fit for duty, did not exceed five hundred men. After all the efforts of courage and perseverance, governor Shirley and general Fraser were reduced to the necessity of capitulating: Very liberal terms were obtained both for the inhabitants and the garrison: And on the twelfth of February, the fort at Brimstone Hill, and the island of St. Christopher's, with the dependent island of Nevis, were surrendered to the marquis de Bouillé. The whole loss of the British regulars in garrison at Brimstone Hill during the siege, amounted to one hundred and seventy-six; thirty-eight being killed, one hundred and twenty-five wounded, and thirteen missing. There being no farther occasion for the British fleet to remain in Basse Terre Road, sir Samuel Hood put to sea in the night of the fourteenth, unperceived by the enemy, and directed his course to Barbadoes, where he expected to meet sir George Rodney with a reinforcement of ships from England. The surrender of Montserrat, as was expected, succeeded the loss of St. Christopher's and Nevis; a detachment from the French fleet, on its return to Martinique, having appeared before it on the twenty-second of February.

From

From the avowed principles and sentiments of those who held the chief offices in the new administration, no doubt was entertained that peace with the revolted colonies would be one of the first objects of their attention, and that the claim of independence set up by the latter, would be no bar to a settlement. In the preceding year, the American congress had granted full powers to five of their agents in Europe to treat of a peace; and with those persons, or some of them, means were found to open an intercourse early in April: But so many previous difficulties were to be cleared away, that some time must be expected to elapse before they could enter on the final discussion of the business.

One of the last acts of the former administration was to appoint general Carleton (now lord Dorchester) commander in chief in America in the room of sir Henry Clinton. He was continued in office by the new administration; and, in consequence of the instructions he received, a sort of tacit cessation of hostilities was observed between the two armies in the neighbourhood of New York; neither of them attempting to molest the other. In other parts of the world, the war was still to be prosecuted with vigour against France, Spain, and Holland. The two former of these powers had agreed to renew their attempt this year against the island of Jamaica: And, to frustrate their designs, sir George Rodney, soon after his arrival in England, in the fall of the preceding year, was dispatched to resume his command in the West Indies, with a reinforcement of twelve ships of the line. He sailed from the Channel in January, and arrived at Barbadoes on the nineteenth of February. In consequence of the intelligence there received of the attack made on St. Christopher's (the news of its surrender not having

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General
Carleton
appointed
commander
in chief in
America in-
stead of sir
Henry
Clinton.

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April

ing then arrived), he put to sea immediately, with an intention of joining sir Samuel Hood, and attempting its relief. On his passage, he met the British fleet returning from St. Christopher's; and as the island was already surrendered, and the count de Grasse had sailed for Martinique, he proceeded with the whole fleet to St. Lucie, the most convenient station for watching the enemy's motions. For this purpose some of his frigates were stationed so as to give him the earliest intelligence; whilst the rest of the fleet took on board provisions and water to last them for five months. As the safety of Jamaica, and indeed of every other British island in the West Indies, depended upon the exertions now to be made to bring the count de Grasse to action, before he could form a junction with the Spanish fleet to leeward, the intervening space of time was probably a period not only of great expectation, but of much anxiety and inquietude, to the British admiral.

On the fifth of April intelligence was received, that the French were embarking troops on-board their ships of war; and on the eighth, at break of day, a signal from the *Andromache*, captain Byron, announced that their fleet was coming out of Fort Royal Bay, and standing to the north-west. Sir George Rodney immediately threw out the signal for weighing anchor, which was instantly obeyed with so much alacrity, that the whole British fleet, consisting of thirty-six ships of the line, was clear of Gros Islet Bay before noon, and proceeding with a press of sail in pursuit of the enemy. Before day the next morning, the enemy was discovered under Dominique; and in this situation both fleets were for some time becalmed. The enemy got the breeze first, and stood towards Guadaloupe: The van of the British fleet, commanded by sir Samuel Hood, received it next, and

and stood after them with a press of sail; whilst the centre and rear were still becalmed. Although it was obviously the design of the Count de Grasse to avoid an engagement, the opportunity which now presented itself of overpowering the British van, whilst the centre and rear lay becalmed, was not to be resisted: When, therefore, sir Samuel Hood's division had approached so near as to engage, the count de Grasse bore down upon it with his whole force. At one time, it is said, the *Barfleur*, Hood's ship, had seven of the enemy's ships firing upon her, and during the greatest part of the action not less than three: And although every ship of his division had a superior force to contend with, so nobly did they support each other, and with such effect return the enemy's fire, that no advantage could be obtained over them; and, as it afterwards appeared, the enemy in this unequal conflict received more damage than they occasioned. At length part of the centre got near enough to engage, and take part in the action: But when the breeze reached the rear of the British fleet, the count de Grasse withdrew his ships from action, and, having the advantage of the wind, kept at such a distance as to baffle all the endeavours of the British commander to renew it. In this action the *Royal Oak* and *Montagu*, the two leading ships of the van, sustained considerable damage, and the service a heavy loss, in the death of captain Bayne, of the *Alfred*. Two of the French ships were so much disabled as to be obliged to quit the fleet, and take shelter in *Guadaloupe*. The British fleet lay-to the night after the action to repair their damages, and the next morning made sail to windward in pursuit of the enemy; but with so little effect, that by the morning of the eleventh the French fleet had got so far to windward, that some of their ships were scarcely visible.

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gagement
between
admiral
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and the
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visible. In the mean time the rear division of the British fleet, commanded by Admiral Drake, had been transposed to the van, which now became the rear. Fortunately, about noon of the eleventh, one of the enemy's ships was seen a great way to windward, apparently in a disabled condition, repairing her damages: A general chase was immediately ordered; and towards evening one of the leading ships approached so near, that she must inevitably have been taken, had not the count de Grasse, seeing her danger, borne down with his whole fleet for her protection. This movement brought the two fleets so near, that nothing but the approach of night prevented an immediate engagement; which must necessarily happen in the morning, if things were preserved in their present relative state during the night. Such measures were immediately taken by sir George Rodney as he thought would be effectual for that purpose; and when day light appeared, he had the satisfaction to perceive, that what he had so much desired was on the point of being accomplished; and that it was not in the power of the count de Grasse, if so inclined, to avoid a general engagement. The signal for close action was thrown out; and, about half after seven in the morning, the action was begun by captain Penny in the Marlborough, the leading ship of the British van. The two fleets met on opposite tacks, and there being little wind, the British ships ranged slowly along, and close under the lee of the enemy's line, delivering and continuing a most tremendous fire, which the French received and returned with the utmost firmness. About noon sir George Rodney, in the Formidable, having passed the Ville de Paris, the count de Grasse's ship, and her second, so close as to be almost in contact, and having made a visible impression upon them by a fire so quick

quick and well directed, that it was almost insupportable, stood athwart the enemy's line between the second and third ship astern of the *Ville de Paris*, followed and nobly supported by the *Duke*, *Namur*, and *Canada*; the rest of his division coming up in succession. The *Formidable* immediately wore round; and a signal being made for the van division under admiral Drake to tack, the British fleet thus gained the wind, and stood upon the same tack with the enemy. By this bold manœuvre, the French line was effectually broke and separated, and the whole thrown into confusion: It decided the fate of the day, although it did not end the action, which continued with unremitting fury till sun-set. The rear of the British fleet being becalmed, did not for some time get into action, and when the breeze sprung up, it was so small, that sir Samuel Hood, in the *Barfleur*, took an hour and a half to pass the enemy's line only so far as the opening made by the *Formidable*, keeping up, during all this time, a most tremendous, well-connected fire. The French ships being crowded with men, the carnage on board their fleet was prodigious: Still however they fought with such obstinate bravery, as if the fate of their country depended upon the issue of the day. Count de Grasse, with his own and the other ships in the centre, withstood till evening all the efforts of the various ships that attacked him. The gallantry of captain Cornwallis of the *Canada*, a seventy-four gun ship, was, on this occasion, the admiration of the whole fleet: Having fought the *Hector*, a French ship of equal force with his own, until she struck her colours, he left her to be taken possession of by a frigate; and, as if emulous to revenge his brother's cause, pushed on to the *Ville de Paris*, which he engaged for two hours, notwithstanding the inequality of his force, and

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left her almost a wreck. Still, however, the count de Grasse refused to surrender, and seemed unwilling to strike to any ship without a flag. Towards sun set sir Samuel Hood, in the *Barfleur*, reached the *Ville de Paris*, and poured in a most destructive fire. The count de Grasse bore it for about ten minutes, when he struck his flag, and surrendered. At this time, it is said, only three men were left alive and unhurt upon the upper deck, of whom the count de Grasse was one. Previously to the surrender of the *Ville de Paris*, the *Hector*, as already mentioned, had struck to captain Cornwallis. The *Ardent*, of sixty-four guns, taken by d'Orvilliers in the British Channel, was retaken; the *Cæsar* and the *Glorieux*, both of seventy-four guns, had also surrendered, but not till they were reduced to mere wrecks; and the *Diadem*, another seventy-four, had been sunk by a single broadside from the *Formidable* in a generous exertion to succour the *Ville de Paris*. Night at length putting an end to the engagement, the British admiral threw out the signal for his fleet to bring-to, that he might keep it collected, and secure the prizes. But unfortunately the *Cæsar*, one of them, blew up by accident in the night of the engagement; and a lieutenant and fifty British seamen, with about four hundred prisoners, perished by the explosion. On board the *Ville de Paris* were found thirty-six chests of money destined for the pay and subsistence of the troops in the designed attack on Jamaica; and it seems to have been singularly providential, that the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon and travelling carriages meant for that expedition, were on board the ships now taken. The *Ville de Paris* was the largest ship in the French king's service: She was a present from the city of Paris to Louis the Fifteenth; and no expence was spared

spared to render the gift worthy both of the city and the monarch. Her building and fitting for sea are said to have cost one hundred and seventy-six thousand pounds sterling.

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Sir George Rodney in this engagement happily exemplified the great advantage derived from bringing British ships and seamen into close action. The whole loss of men on board the British fleet, in the actions of the ninth and twelfth of April, amounted only to two hundred and thirty-seven killed, and seven hundred and sixty-six wounded: Whereas the loss of the French, in the same actions, was computed at three thousand slain, and more than double that number wounded. That the computation was not exaggerated, appears probable from the known loss on board particular ships: In the *Ville de Paris* alone were killed upwards of four hundred, and in several other single ships between two and 300. And, by the confession of the French themselves, their ships that escaped, were so shattered in the action as to be little less than ruined. The British line consisted of thirty-six, and the French line only of thirty-two ships, after the two disabled in the action of the ninth had left it: But when it is considered, that six ships of Hood's division, from the scantiness of the wind, never could be brought into action, it will be found that the superiority in number of those actually engaged, was at least on the side of the French.

The enemy's ships that escaped, made off to leeward the night after the action in the best manner they could, and before morning were entirely out of sight. Four of them ran down to the Dutch island of *Curaçoa*; but the greater part, under *Bougainville* and *Vaudreuil*, the second and third in command, kept together, and directed their course for *Cape François*. The next morning sir George Rodney, after receiving a report of

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of the state of his fleet, attempted to pursue, but was becalmed for three days under Guadaloupe, which greatly favoured the escape of the enemy. He afterwards, by means of his frigates, examined the French ports to windward, to discover whether any ships of their fleet had taken shelter in them; and being at last convinced that they were all gone to leeward, he dispatched sir Samuel Hood, whose division had suffered little in the action, to the west end of Hispaniola, in hopes of meeting with some of their disabled ships, whilst he himself followed with the rest of the fleet to join him off Cape Tiberoon. In the Mona passage, between Hispaniola and Porto Rico, sir Samuel Hood got sight of five French ships, two of the line, and three frigates; all of which were taken, except one frigate, that escaped by a sudden shift of the wind. Thus the enemy by this action lost in all, eight ships of the line, and two frigates. Sir George Rodney now proceeded to Jamaica with the prizes, and such of the British ships as were most disabled, leaving sir Samuel Hood, with twenty-five sail of the line, to keep the sea, and watch the enemy's motions.

In consequence of the defeat of the French fleet, the expedition against Jamaica was entirely given up; and the action of the twelfth of April may be said to have terminated the war in the West Indies. The reduction of the inconsiderable British settlement on the Bahama Islands by an armament fitted out at the Havannah, was the only hostile attempt made in that quarter of the world by either of the allied powers after the period of Rodney's victory. The reports carried to the governor of the Havannah of the weak state of the garrison, provoked the attack; and that those reports were not unfounded, seems probable from the facility with which the conquest was made.

made. On the sixth of May, in the evening, the Spanish armament, consisting of three frigates and sixty sail of transports, having on board two thousand five hundred troops, appeared before them: And on the next day, upon the first summons, the governor, after holding two consultations, one with his council and the other with the officers of the garrison, consisting of only one hundred and seventy invalids, and the principal inhabitants of the place, agreed to surrender on terms of capitulation.

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Whilst sir George Rodney triumphed over the enemies of Britain in the West; the credit and reputation of her arms were nobly supported in the East, under the auspices of the governor general of Bengal, Mr. Hastings, and the more immediate direction of sir Edward Hughes by sea, and sir Eyre Coote by land. The latter, under many disadvantages, amongst which a scarcity of provisions for the subsistence of the army was not the least, baffled all the attempts of Hyder Ally to regain that footing in the Carnatic, which he had lost the preceding year: And the former, although he had to contend against M. de Suffrein, one of the ablest officers in the naval service of France, who commanded a very superior force, defeated him in four hard-fought actions within the short space of seven months. But that which served most to advance and secure the British interest in India, was the means that were found to make a peace with the Mahratta States, and detach them from the interest of Hyder Ally. This event took place in the month of May; and, by one of the articles of the pacification, the contracting parties became bound to compel Hyder Ally to restore all the places taken from the India Company since the commencement of the war. Thus the Mahrattas were not only detached from the interest

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of British
affairs in
the East
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tion.

terest of Hyder Ally, but provisionally became bound to act against him.

In Europe the principal aim of the new administration seems to have been to obstruct, as far as was in their power, the sailing of the enemy's convoys, to protect the outward and homeward bound British trade, to prevent the Dutch fleet from forming a junction with that of France and Spain, to relieve the garrison of Gibraltar, by furnishing it with the customary annual supplies, and, in general, rather to preserve things in their present state during the conferences for a peace, than incur the risk of loss from the desire of obtaining any possible advantage. In the month of April admiral Barrington sailed on a cruize with twelve ships of the line to intercept a convoy said to be then ready to leave Brest, and on the twentieth fortunately got sight of it. The convoy consisted of eighteen transports, having troops on board, and laden with provision and stores for the use of the French fleet in the East Indies: It sailed from Brest under the protection of the *Pegase* and *Protecteur*, of seventy-four guns each, *l'Actionnaire*, of sixty-four guns, but armed en flute, and a frigate. A general chase was immediately ordered by the British admiral; and, in the course of it, the *Pegase* was taken by captain Jarvis in the *Foudroyant*, *l'Actionnaire* by captain Maitland in the *Queen*, and eleven or twelve of the transports by the other ships of the squadron. After this successful cruize admiral Barrington returned to Portsmouth about the end of the month. Intelligence being received about this time, that the Dutch fleet was ready to sail from the Texel, lord Howe, with a suitable squadron, was dispatched to the coast of Holland to watch its motions. The Dutch fleet, instead of being only in a state of preparation for coming out, had already sailed; but,

but, upon receiving intelligence of lord Howe's destination, returned again into port, where it quietly remained during the time of his lordship's cruize, which lasted about a month before he carried his squadron back to Spithead. About the beginning of June, the combined fleets of France and Spain, under the command of the count de Guichen and don Louis Cordova, sailed from Cadiz; and in its progress to the northward took eighteen ships of a fleet of British merchantmen, bound for Newfoundland and Quebec, chiefly laden with provisions. The rest of the merchantmen, amounting to about ten sail, with the ships of war appointed for their convoy, made their escape. As the combined fleet proceeded to cruize about the mouth of the channel, great apprehensions began to be entertained for the safety of a homeward-bound Jamaica fleet that had sailed under the convoy of only three ships of the line. The utmost exertions were therefore made to forward the equipment of the Channel fleet, that it might proceed to sea for its protection: But with all that could be done, not more than twenty-two sail of the line were in readiness in the beginning of July. With these lord Howe received orders to put to sea; and he accordingly sailed from St. Helen's on the second of the month. It does not appear that his lordship, during his cruize, either saw the combined fleet, or that for whose protection he sailed: But fortunately the latter got safe into the Channel on the thirtieth of July; and about ten days after, the British fleet returned into port.

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In the mean time the mighty preparations made by the king of Spain, for the reduction of Gibraltar, and the vast expectations formed from them, drew the attention of all Europe towards that fortress. The successive disappointments

Repulse and
discomfiture
of the Spaniards and
French before
Gibraltar.

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 1782. wisdom, and induced them to abandon the at-
 tempt as hopeless; especially as their arms
 might have been employed in other quarters more
 beneficially to themselves, and consequently more
 injuriously to Great Britain: But their obstinacy
 and perseverance seemed to increase with their dis-
 appointments, and the difficulties which they had
 to surmount. Towards the close of the former
 year, their advanced works upon the Isthmus,
 after being completed at a vast expence, were de-
 molished in one night by a successful sortie from
 the garrison. The guns and mortars mounted
 upon the batteries were spiked, and the batteries
 themselves so effectually set on fire, that before
 morning they were nearly consumed. After this
 misfortune, the enemy seem to have principally
 relied on an attack by water with floating batte-
 ries. The plan of these batteries was the contri-
 vance of the chevalier d'Arcon, a French engi-
 neer of some distinction. They were to be of
 such thickness and strength as to be impenetrable
 by shot from the heaviest cannon, and to be con-
 structed of materials calculated to resist the action
 of fire. From shells they were to be protected by
 a sloping roof, which, by means of a mechanical
 contrivance, might be raised or lowered at plea-
 sure. Thus secured, such a short distance might
 be chosen, that the heavy artillery with which
 they were to be mounted, could not fail in a little
 time to ruin the works of the garrison, and ren-
 der an assault practicable. The engineer had the
 address to represent his scheme in so favourable a
 point of view, that the most flattering hopes of
 its success were entertained, and no expence was
 spared to complete the machines according to his
 plan. Whilst they were in a state of preparation,
 the

the duke de Crillon, after his success at Minorca, was appointed to command the Spanish army before Gibraltar: That army was reinforced by twelve thousand auxiliary French troops; and to add splendour to the scene, two of the French princes of the blood, the count d'Artois, and the duke de Bourbon, with a number of the first nobility, both of France and Spain, repaired to the Spanish camp. The battering machines required so much time in preparation that they were not in readiness before the beginning of September, about which time the combined fleet of France and Spain arrived in the bay. When joined by the ships already at Algeiras, it consisted of forty-eight or forty-nine ships of the line. The battering machines were ten in number, and were commanded by admiral Don B. Moreno: They were mounted with one hundred and fifty-four pieces of heavy brass cannon, and had on board upwards of six thousand men, a great proportion of which were artillery-men, thirty-six being allotted for the service of each gun. They had also on board a number of spare guns to replace any that might be damaged in action. To give the utmost effect to the attack, it was proposed that when the battering ships should take their station, the Spanish gun and mortar boats, of which they had a great number, should place themselves so as to flank the British batteries on the water, and if possible drive the artillery-men from their guns. The combined fleet was to cover and assist the battering ships: And to distract the attention of the garrison, a furious cannonade was to commence from all the batteries on the Isthmus. An immense number of large boats, that had been collected from all the ports in Spain, were also to be in readiness to carry over the bay and land troops in the fortress as soon as the battering ships should produce

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produce their expected effect. The plan being arranged, and every thing in readiness, the battering ships got under way about seven in the morning of the thirteenth of September, and between nine and ten anchored in a regular line, between the Old and New Mole, at moderate distances from each other, and about half a mile from the British works. Immediately a furious cannonade began, not only from them, but from all the enemy's numerous artillery upon the Isthmus, which was returned by the garrison with showers of shells and red-hot balls towards every quarter from whence the attacks were made. The hills all around were covered with spectators to behold a scene beyond description grand, awful, and terrific. So fiercely did the garrison return the enemy's cannonade, that continued torrents of fire and smoke seemed to issue from every quarter of the rock: But the attention of the besieged was principally fixed on the battering ships, which for some time appeared to answer every expectation that had been formed from them. Neither shot or shells seemed to affect them. At length, about two o'clock, smoke was seen to issue from the upper part of Don Moreno's ship: And the people on board were discovered using fire-engines, and pouring water into the shot-holes. Not long afterwards the prince of Nassau's ship, the next in size to the admiral's, was observed to be in the same condition. This sight, without doubt, animated the garrison to fresh exertion, and had an opposite effect upon the enemy. The other battering ships were evidently affected with the situation of their admiral and his second, so that the fire of the garrison had gained a visible superiority before the evening, and it was continued with unremitting fury during the night. About one in
the

the morning the flames burst forth on board the two ships already mentioned, and several of the others were visibly on fire. Signals of distress were now made; and boats were sent off from the shore to their assistance. Captain Curtis, who commanded the British naval force at Gibraltar, seized this opportunity of completing the destruction of those machines, which had created so much apprehension. He stationed his gun-boats so as to flank the line of the battering ships, and by keeping up a constant fire, to cut them off from that assistance which they had begun to receive from the shore. In this dreadful situation the battering ships remained during the rest of the night, exposed to a direct fire from the garrison, and a raking fire from the gun-boats, cut off from assistance, and the flames increasing every instant. When day-light appeared, it presented such a scene of distress, that every hostile idea was for a time extinguished, in compassion for the miserable wretches who yet remained on board the enemy's battering ships. The fire from the fortress ceased: And the bravest exertions were made by captain Curtis and the British seamen, at the risk of their own lives, to rescue the Spaniards from the surrounding flames. By their intrepid efforts about four hundred of them were saved from inevitable destruction. Nine of these battering machines blew up successively in the course of the day; and the tenth was burnt by captain Curtis, after he found that she could not be brought off. In this attack by sea the enemy were supposed to have lost about one thousand five hundred men, including the prisoners and wounded. Thus disastrously ended the last attempt of the Spaniards for the reduction of Gibraltar.

About the time of this attack lord Howe failed from the British channel with the grand fleet, consisting

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sisting of thirty-four ships of the line, to escort a number of transports carrying troops, and laden with those stores and supplies which were to enable general Elliot to continue his brave defence. His lordship was much delayed on his passage by contrary winds; but he at last reached the Straits, and entered them on the eleventh of October. That same evening part of the transports got safe to Gibraltar: The rest, from the strength of the current, were unexpectedly carried past it into the Mediterranean. Lord Howe followed with his fleet, and collected them; and by the eighteenth conducted the whole safely into the bay, where they disembarked the troops, and landed their cargoes. Fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder were also spared from the fleet, as an additional supply to the garrison. To the honour of his lordship it is to be remarked that the whole of this service was successfully performed in the face of the combined fleet, which lay in Gibraltar Bay at the time of his arrival. The enemy either depended so greatly upon the superiority of their number, or were so much overawed by their opponent's masterly disposition for defence, that they did not attempt to molest him. The relief of Gibraltar being effected, his lordship on the nineteenth took advantage of an easterly wind to repass the Straits, and enter the Atlantic. The combined fleet followed, and on the twentieth, towards sunset, bore down so far as to commence a distant cannonade, which was held in so much contempt by the British commander, that although three of their number were firing upon his own ship, he did not deign to return a shot. They afterwards made an attempt to cut off some ships in the rear; but were so warmly received as to be obliged to
sheer

sheer off with loss. In the morning, the combined fleet being a great way to windward, and apparently steering for Cadiz, lord Howe proceeded on his return to England, dispatching on his way eight ships of the line to the West Indies, and six to the coast of Ireland.

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During these transactions a partial change had taken place in the British administration. Upon the death of the marquis of Rockingham, about the beginning of July, the earl of Shelburne was appointed first lord of the treasury in his stead. In consequence of this appointment, or from some other cause, Mr. Fox, and several other principal members of administration, resigned their offices, and were succeeded by others, more in the interest of the earl of Shelburne.

Those changes, however, did not affect the negotiations carrying on at Paris for putting an end to the war. Mr. Oswald, a British merchant, and the particular friend of president Laurens, who had been so long confined in the Tower, was appointed to negotiate with the American commissioners; and Mr. Thomas Grenville first, and afterwards Mr. Fitzherbert, were successively deputed to treat with the ministers of the other allied powers. The later events of the present year had all a tendency to bring the powers at war more nearly upon a level. At the close of the former year, Great Britain seemed nearly overwhelmed by the strength and successes of her numerous foes: But the signal victory obtained by sir George Rodney in the West Indies, with the blow given to the naval force of France in that quarter of the world; the defeat of the Spaniards before Gibraltar, and the successful relief of its garrison, in the view of a superior fleet; and the splendid effects
of

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of the British policy and arms in Asia; raised the reputation of the nation to its wonted level amongst the powers of Europe, and gave her additional weight, either for the accomplishment of peace, or the farther prosecution of the war. But the derangement of the finances, both of France and Spain, was the principal cause which disposed those powers to listen to the terms of accommodation.

The internal distresses in every quarter of the revolted colonies, the mutinous disposition of their armies, from the want of all necessary supplies, and the utter inability of the congress to furnish them, were well known to the American commissioners, and strongly prompted them not to let pass the present opportunity of restoring to their country the blessings of peace. The negotiations with those commissioners were therefore first brought to a conclusion: And, on the thirtieth of November, provisional articles of peace were signed by Mr. Oswald on the part of Great Britain, and by Mr. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, on the part of the revolted colonies, now the United States of America, which were not to take effect until peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France. By those articles the thirteen United States of America were acknowledged to be free, sovereign, and independent: The limits of their country were ascertained, as far as was practicable, by natural boundaries; and those limits were extended so far to the westward as to contain within them an immense extent of territory, partly unsettled, and partly still inhabited by the Indians, the original proprietors: A right was granted to them to fish on the banks and coasts of Newfoundland, in the Gulph of St. Laurence, and on the coasts,

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coasts, bays, and creeks of all the other British dominions in America, and to cure and dry their fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador: It was stipulated that creditors on either side should meet with no lawful impediment in the recovery of their debts: A recommendation was to be made by congress to the legislatures of the different states, to restore the confiscated estates and properties of real British subjects; also of those resident within the British lines in America, who had not borne arms against the United States; and also of persons of any other description, upon their refunding to the present possessors the price *bonâ fide* paid by such possessors at the time of purchasing such estates: It was stipulated, that no future confiscations should be made, nor any prosecutions commenced, for the part taken by any person during the war, nor any future loss by any one, either in his person, liberty, or property, on that account: It was agreed that prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty, and that the British posts within the United States should be evacuated with all convenient speed: The navigation of the Mississippi to remain free and open to the subjects of both powers. And should any place be taken on either side, before the arrival of these articles in America, such place to be restored without compensation.

The preliminary articles of peace with France, upon which those with America were to take effect, were not signed till the twentieth of January 1783. Those with Spain were executed at the same time. The general ground of those articles was the mutual restitution of all places taken on either side during the war, with some few exceptions. France was to retain Tobago and Senegal; Spain, Mi-

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norca and West Florida; and Great Britain to cede East Florida to Spain. The Dutch island of St. Eustatius, and the provinces of Demerara and Isequibo, to be restored by France to the United Provinces. At the same time a suspension of hostilities with the Dutch was agreed upon, until terms of peace with that nation could be finally adjusted.

Thus ended the most extensive, difficult, and burdensome war in which Great Britain was ever engaged*.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION is the grandest effect of combination that has been yet exhibited to the world: A combination formed by popular representation and the art of printing†. So vast a force

* The foreign debt of America, incurred by the war, amounted to 7,885,085 dollars; the domestic debt to 34,115,290 dollars; so that taking the dollar at 4s. 6d. sterling, the foreign and domestic debt amounted to 9,450,084 pounds sterling, the interest of which, at 6 per cent, which is the interest generally paid in America, amounts to 567,005 pounds. The war is computed to have cost Great Britain 115,654,914 pounds, and the additional annual burden, in consequence of that war, 4,557,575 pounds, from January 1775 to the peace in 1783. America is said to have lost by the sword and natural deaths in the army and navy, not less than 100,000 men. The number of men killed in the British service, during the war, amounted, by the returns at New York, to 43,633.

By computation the whole territory of the American States contains a million of square miles, in which are 640 millions of acres; of these, 51 millions are water, which being deducted, the total amount of acres of land in the United States of America is 589 millions.

† CAPTAIN NEWTE, in his philosophical and very interesting Tour in England and Scotland, having delineated Scotland and the North of England as shaped by the hand of nature, is led, from

a force as was exerted by Great Britain had never been sent to so great a distance, nor resisted by any power apparently so unequal to the contest. The military genius of Britain was unimpaired; she rose with elastic force under every blow; and seemed capable, by the immensity of her revenues, of wearying out, by perseverance, the adversity of fortune: But wisdom, vigour, and unanimity, were wanting in her public councils. The eloquence of some legislators in opposition to government; the narrow views of ministers at home; and the misconduct of certain commanders abroad, through a series of pusillanimity, procrastination, discord, and folly; brought this country, in spite of the gallant efforts of the British officers and soldiers by land and sea, the justice of their cause, the firmness of their sovereign, and the general vows of the people, to a crisis, which has not indeed been followed (so limited are our prospects into futurity) by all that calamity which was generally apprehended, but which, nevertheless, altho' the national character, for spirit and enterprise, was abundantly sustained by individuals, cannot be regarded otherwise than as a disgrace to the British: Since it exhibited, in our public conduct, the triumph of party over genuine patriotism, and a spirit of speculation and pleasure prevailing in too many instances over military discipline, and a sense of military honour. The British minister

from the names of places, to speak of the geographical knowledge, and the natural quickness in general, of mankind in a savage state. On this subject he says: "In the country of the Illinois, a chief of the Cascaskias conceived the sublime idea of uniting all Indian nations and tribes into one grand alliance, offensive and defensive. If this had been realized, Dr. Franklin's confederation of the thirteen States would have cut but a poor figure on the American continent, and the natural man would have outdone the philosopher."

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did not possess that towering genius which is alone fitted, in difficult and turbulent times, to overcome the seditious, and rouse the remiss to their duty. Though a man of fine talents, as well as an amiable disposition, he was constitutionally indolent: And, besides this, there was not that degree of cordiality and perfect unanimity that the minister was led to suppose amongst the friends of his majesty's government in America. It is, perhaps, a matter of doubt whether the loyalists were not, on the whole, too sanguine in their expectations. But it is the nature of men to cherish the hope of relief with an ardour proportioned to the greatness of their misfortunes.

On the whole, the British government did not proceed on any grand system that might controul particular circumstances and events; but studied to prolong their own authority by temporary expedients. They courted their adversaries at home, by a share of power and profit; and the public enemies of the state, by partial concessions. But these availed much more to the establishment of new claims, than all the declarations of parliamentary rights and royal prerogatives with which they were accompanied, did to maintain the rights of established government: For facts quickly pass into precedents: while manifesto is opposed to manifesto, and argument to argument. Had the measures adopted by Britain, been adopted in time*, perhaps they would not have been adopted in vain. Their concessions, as well as their armaments, were always too late. Earlier concession,

* Besides a mighty navy, Great Britain had a force in America, amounting nearly to 42,000 men, besides from 25,000 to 30,000 loyalists, who were actually enlisted in the several provincial corps raised during the war.

or an earlier application of that mighty force which was at the disposal of the commanders in chief in 1777, might perhaps have prevented or quashed the revolution. CHAP.
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While the natural strength and spirit of Great Britain were embarrassed and encumbered with the disadvantages and errors now enumerated, the Americans, in spite of a thousand difficulties and wants, by the energy of liberty, the contrivance of necessity, and the great advantages arising from the possession of the country, ultimately attained their object. The Americans, indeed, were not fired with that enthusiastic ardour, which nations of a warmer temperament, in all ages, have been wont to display in the cause of freedom. But they were guided by wise councils; they were steady and persevering; and, on all great occasions, not a little animated by the courage of general Washington, who has been proverbially called a Fabius, but in whose character courage, in fact, was a feature still more predominant than prudence. The American generals, having the bulk of the people on their side, were made acquainted with every movement of the British army, and enabled, for the most part, to penetrate their designs: To obtain intelligence, on which so much depends, was to the British commanders a matter of proportionable difficulty. The Americans had neither money nor credit: But they learned to stand in need only of a few things; to be contented with the small allowance that nature requires; to suffer, as well as to act. Their councils, animated by liberty, under the most distressing circumstances, took a grand and high-spirited course, and they were finally triumphant.

The Revolution of America, though predicted by philosophy, was generally considered as a remote

CHAP. XLVI. mote contingency, if not a thing wholly ideal and visionary. Its immediate causes were altogether unforeseen and improbable. It came as a surprise upon the world: And men were obliged to conclude, either that the force of Great Britain was ill-directed, or that no invading army, in the present enlightened period, can be successful, in a country where the people are tolerably united.

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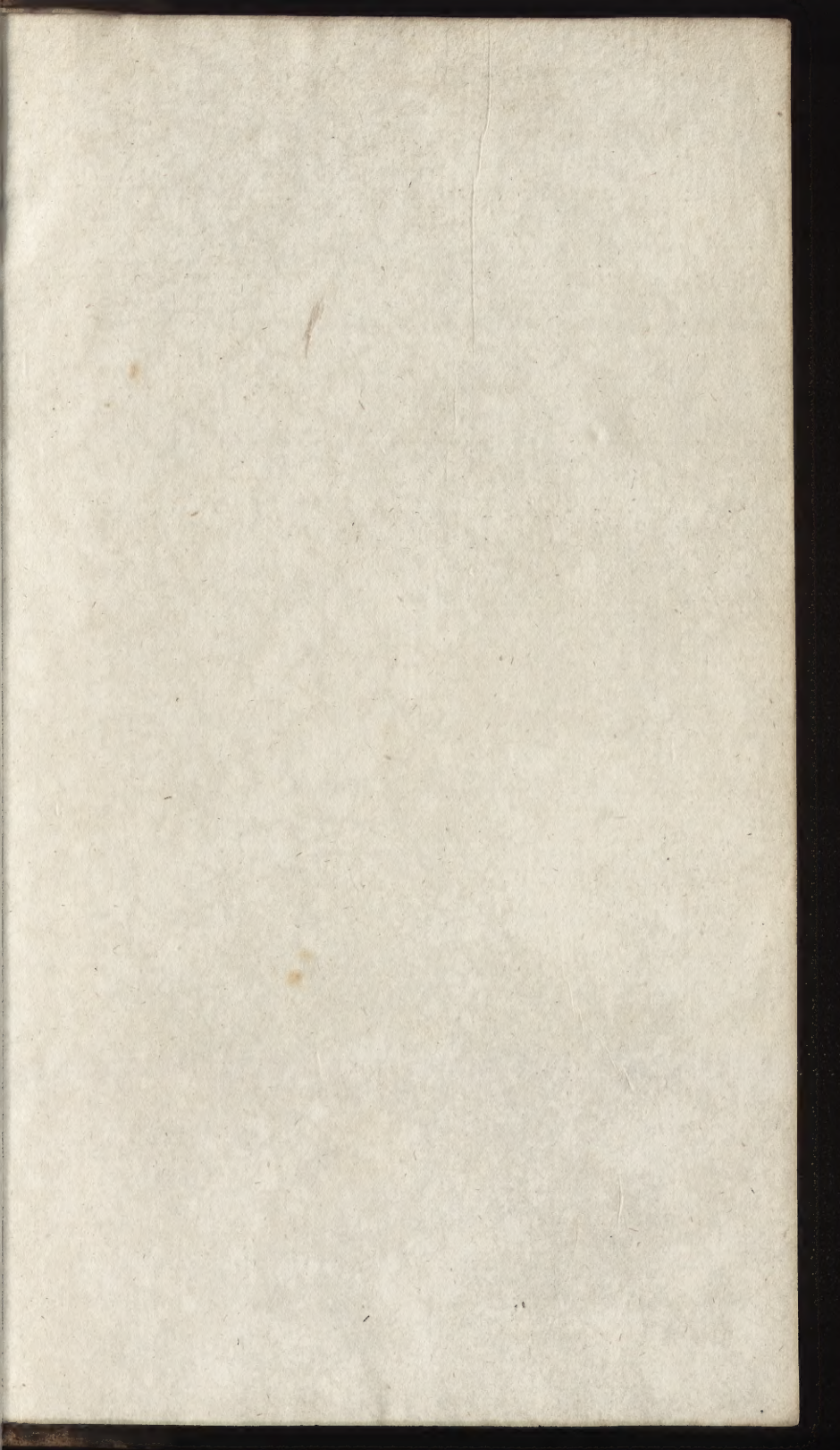
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